

RELATION
OF THE
INHUMANE
and Barbarous Treatment called
QUAKERS

In the City of Bristol during the Mayoralty of
John Knight, commonly called *Sir John Knight*
commencing from the 19. of the 7. month 1663. to
the 29. day of the same month; 1664. *Friend, Sec.*

Impartially observed by a *private hand*, and now commodi-
cated for *Publick* information by the *said People*.

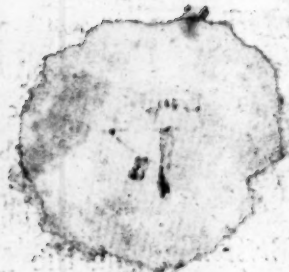
*Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried, but the wicked shall do
wickedly, and none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall un-
derstand, Dan. 10. 12.*

*Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake, for they shall inherit
the Kingdom of heaven, Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and per-
secute you, and for all manner of evil say against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice
and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven, for so persecuted
they the Prophets that were before you, Mat. 5. 10, 11, 12.*

*And shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry night and day for vengeance
against them that persecute them? I tell you he will avenge them speedily. Ye
therefore shall be able to endure the same, as ye have heard of them which
so persecuted the good men of old time, Luke 18. 7, 8.*

*For when ye shall have done all these things, shall ye stand, and shall ye say,
We will not be troubled, Luke 21. 28.*

Printed in the Year 1664.



A Relation, &c.

Friend *John Knight* (for unto *thee* it is that *we* direct *this* ensuing relation of which *we* have suffered at *thy* hands, during *thy* being Major in *this* City, for that by *thee* it was, and through *thy* influence that *we* have *thus* suffered.) It had been well for *thee*, if *thou* hadst considered the *stable* condition of

Robert Canne Kt.
and Barronet
being thy Pre-
decessor.

this City, when *thou* entred'st into *thy* Government, both for *trade* and *otherwise*, then which *no* time hath parallel'd it since the date of the *late* troubles, when the *King* returned.

A City at *peace* and *unity*, within *its* self; men of *all* persuasions, as to *Religion*, well persuaded amongst *themselves*, and as to the *Civil* peace united in the *hearts*, and *love* of each man to another, and the *publick* benefit; And thus it was whilst *moderation* sat in the *Government* of *this* City, so that *every* individual might rest assured of the *peace* and *safety* of *his* estate and Person, in the pursuance of the *publick*.

And by the way, let us tell *thee* and *all*, to whom *these* presents may come, that there was not a *City* more united in the *publick*, then *this* of *Bristol*, before *thine* entrance, whose *shadowy* steps there-from, from *this* day forwards, not upon *our* personal influence, or *our* principle, but *thine* own, receive *their* *gnomon*, or direction from *thy* declention from it, and will have *their* set from *thee*.

For *thou* art the man, whom *rage* and *asperity*, with a *blind* zeal to the *worships* of the *times*, have set up to counter-buff the *stability* of *this* City, and to overturn *ex industria*, or of

set purpose the well poized Government of *unity* and *peace*, into *disunion* and *trouble*; And to lay the *sure* grounded Fa-
brick of *its* prosperity in the *dust*, whilst *thou* walkest over it,
with armes folded up, and a *pitiful* countenance, as if not
thou, but the contrary (*viz.*) *moderation* had *there* laid it;
And so whilst with the *one* hand *thou* entrest in *thy* sharp in-
cision knife, *thou* stroakest with the *other*, as if so be that which
suffers were the cause of its running in; not *thou* of its suf-
fering.

To manifest which, and *give thee* to see that *thou* art
not charged amiss, something of *thine* own actions shall be
drawn before *thee*, which by *thee* have been perpetrated, du-
ring *this thy* year, to the intent and end, that if *thou* hast yet
any thing remaining of *true* sensibleness, *thou* mayest reflect
upon what *thou* hast don, and blush, and so mayst come to the
knowledge of the *truth*, as it is in *Jesus*, whom now in *Us*
thou hast thus persecuted, and be saved, which is the desire
of our hearts, and that it may be well with *thee* for ever. But
if not, that the ground of the miscarriage of *this* once, and
very lately *flourishing* City may be charged where it ought,
and that after ages may have somewhat upon Record, as an
account wherefore it was, and how it came to passe, that a
place of so much weight and worth, should be laid even with
the dust, for though *we* may be much looked over by *thee*
and *thy* generation, as a people not of so considerable an in-
terest as among men, though *we* may claim as considerable a
one as *your* selves, yet a *higher* interest *we* have then amongst
men, with *him* who looks *ye* over, who will render to *you* ac-
cording to *your* deeds; and this *you* will finde, when the
measure of *your* iniquity is fulfilled upon *us*, which *ye* will be
suffered to fulfil for the tryal of *our* faith and Patience; and
what there is of *God* in *us*, that *he* may be glorified, for which
purpose

purpose *he* hath suffered *ye* thus to do; and without whose suffrance *ye* could not have done *thus* unto *us*, and therefore *we* are content, for *he* will then fulfil upon *you* the measure of *your* iniquity, and then *poor* *Bristol* will know (as well as *you*, the sad effects of persecuting the *innocent* people of the *Lord*, who are not *its* enemy, nor *yours*, nor the *Kings*, nor *his* Government that is *just*, answering the *just* principle of *God*, which *we* are to follow, and nothing but that which is according unto it. And where *we* cannot do to suffer as is *our* principle, and our practice makes it manifest.) *We* say *we* are not enemies to the *City*, to the *King*, nor *you*; but do desire the welfare of *it*, and of *you* all; *God* is witness who will render to *every* man according to *his* deeds.

And this *we* speak before hand, that in the day of *your* calamity, which *you* shall see will approach *you*, and compass *you* about, *ye* may remember that of it *you* were foretold, and that it is come to passe what *you* were foretold in the day of *your* prosperity, to the end that *you* might have heard and considered ere it had been too late, for *this* is signified to *you* in the name of the *Lord*; and let it be as the presage of what shall come to passe, and the presage it is; *The persecution of us will be visited by the Lord, with as sharp a hand as ever was drawn forth against it, since the foundation thereof; And ye shall be tumbled into the dust; and your carcases shall fall as the mire of the streets, who have stretched forth your hands without a cause, against an innocent people, that have done you no wrong, and have made them to suffer, and an execration you will be, and an hissing in the day of the Lords vengeance, when he shall render to you according to your deeds; this is spoken to such of you as shall not repent, as that which shall come upon you in the day that the Lords vengeance shall be made manifest.*

Not that *we* aspire after dignities, or greatness, or to be something in the world, do *we* thus write, or that the thoughts of such things Buoy *us* up above what *we* should be; no, *we* have learnt somewhat else (*viz.*) *In whatsoever condition we be, therein to be content*, and to do the will of God, for which purpose *we* came into the world, however the doing thereof may be attended with the greatest sufferings, which *we* know *we* must passe through, *viz.* great sufferings, even many Tribulations to the Kingdom of God, to our rest, and so *we* look to the recompence of reward, as did Moses (*viz.*) the rest in doing the will of God, who forsook Pharaohs Court, and chose rather to suffer afflictions (and so do *we*) with the people of God, then to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season: Who (it is said) endured, as seeing him who is invisible; and so as he, so here *we*, rest in the doing of his will; and let the Lord do what he will with *us*, *we* are content, who say, *Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven, be it to Prisons, to Banishment, to loss of all, to death; the good will of God be done; as to us, the Lord be glorified by us, in what he will, we leave it to him, who are come not to do our own will, but the Lords, the will of God be done, saith our soul, Amen.*

Not that *we* are plotting, or conspiring, or do intend any such thing, as is falsely suggested against *us*, and that under the pretence of religious meetings, or coming together to wait upon the Lord, the Lord is witness that *we* are clear of any such thing, and that our principle is against it, as is our practice. Not that *we* have any expectation from man, or of any outward arme for our deliverance; *we* disclaim any such thing; and do know, that not by man, but the arme of the Lord, our deliverance must arise, though these things are secretly suggested, and that our boldnesse in our sufferings arises from some such secret assurance; no, no, it only comes from the good

good hand of the *Lord* ; because of his testimony which *we* bear , who is near *us* , and bears *us* up in and through *all* our sufferings, and will *all* those that trust in him.

Not that these things are pleasant to *us* as *men* , that is to say, *thus* to suffer, for *we* are men as *you* are, and are compassed about with the *same* infirmities as *you*, that is to say, *husband, wife, children, relations, estate, Country, life, liberty, wholesome aire, convenient accommodation, health, prosperity* in our affairs, going through without distraction, what *we* have to do, or molestation are heere *us* as *men*, *we* know what *they* are, and what *they* cost, as well as *you* ; and that to enjoy *them* is the *portion* of a *man* , and *all* that *he* can have of *them* under the *Sun*, and that it is good in *this* sense, if it may be with a good conscience, to know *good daies*, and to see *no evil*, *all* that *we* lay *them* down for ; *All* that for which *we* suffer the losse of *them*, which is as little pleasing to *our* flesh and blood, as to *you* is, it is the *will* of *God* that it should be so to try *us*, and that the *vertue* of *him* in *us* may be made manifest, and that in *this* incounter *we* may not make shipwrack of *faith* and a *good* conscience, and so deny the *Lord* that bought *us*, for *things* that perish, and hereby it comes indeed to be made manifest, that *we* know and have the possession of *something* that is *eternal*, viz. that *we* endure, that *we* suffer the parting with the temporal ; And herein the *Lord* is glorified that *we* chuse not, or prefer that, which perishes before that which endures, who are not *our* own, but as hath been said, are *bought with a price*, and therefore are to *glorifie God* in *our bodies*, and *our souls*, which are *Gods* ; and by this *you* all will see (and therefore it is that *this* day is suffer'd) that *we* have something more then what is of *this* world for the enjoyment of which *we* leave the *world*, and chuse rather to suffer *afflictions*,

tion, then to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season ; For all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution.

We say not for any of those things, or that we would seem to be something in speaking of what shall be hereafter, and so to glory do we thus write. But the Lord would have us thus to speak, that you may know that our sufferings will have an end ; and that it will be thus with those who fear the Lord, in whom he rules, and that a day of deliverance there will be, a resurrection, a return ; and that the Lord therein will be glorified ; and this we are shewn, and it is to be shewn unto you, that it may be known, if so be that it may be believed ; but whether it be believed or no, the thing is so, that God is with us, and that he hath not forsaken us, though he suffers us to be tried, and that he is present with us, and will be through all, and beyond all that ye shall be suffered to do unto us, and that we are not left comfortless, but are shewn the end of, as well as our sufferings, even the glory that shall follow, the glory that is to be revealed at the coming of the Lord, the manifestation of his power, who is over all, and reigns forever ; And by his so keeping, and preserving us, through all and over all, shews that he is with us, and that it is Jesus in us whom you now persecute.

For we pray you what should support us, what think ye can keep us in the midst of all these things, which you have set before us, and prepared against us, and which you are preparing, & have made us, and which you are making us to go through, Imprisonment, Banishing us our Native Country, taking us from our Relations, Trades, Callings, Husbands, Wives, Children, native aire and soile, and whatsoever in this world may be dear unto us, casting us into noisome holes and places, thicker in proportion then a discreet man would put dogs into a kennel, or beasts into a pound, or horses into a stable, or
pigs

pigs into a sty amongst lice and vermin, and Fellons and murderers, contagious stinks, and nastinesse sufficient enough to infect such as have lived in *wholsom* cleanliness, *good* aire, and dyet; as *you* know it hath been with *many* of *us*, whose living hath been as well as *yours* in the world, to the infecting of some of *us* already, who have laid down the body at the foot of *your* cruelty, whose blood *you* have to answer for, as for the blood of others of *us*, whom your unmerciful barbarisme by *your* Officers have sent out of the world, as *Lidia Tevy*, and her infant, *Alice* the wife of *William Peachy*, who was big with child, and hurt by the *Officer* in the meeting, who went home ill, was delivered the next day, and a few dayes after, continuing ill, died; And *Mary Knight* did, the servant of *Nathaniel Milner* hereafter mentioned; *We* say, what shall make us to undergo all this cruelty, and that with cheerfulnesse, *which thou John Knight*, and some of the rest of thy brethren are preparing, and have prepared for us, have and are ready to execute upon us (of which, as to the things already done, and the readinesse of *your* hearts further to do *this* ensuing relation gives the particulars) were it not for *something* that is ^{truly} mortal, that is more then man, that bears us out?

We think you should come into consideration, and to sensibleness, and that these things should bring you to it; And therefore it is, that *we* have *thus* wrote for *your* welfare; *We* truly desire in the *Lord*, though you pursue *our* ruines, and that without a cause, for which the *Lord God* will one day plead with *you*, and let *you* know, that what *we* have said is true.

Is it the world think *you* that makes us thus, how can that do it, when *this* leads us out of it, is it *our* country, where-withal can that induce us, when by *these* things *we* are threat-

ned out of it, is it *our* relations, *wives, husbands, children, neighbours, kinsfolks, friends, acquaintance* how can it be so, when *you* take us from *them*? doth *greatness* in the *world* tempt *us*? this very thing is that which doth diminish us; Is it *honour* and *applause* among *men*? This makes *us* a spectacle both to *Angels* and *men*: Doth *ease* and *pleasure* do it? this takes from *us* *our* pleasant things, and doth put us to sojourn (as it may prove) in *desolate* wildernesses: Is it *profit* and *advantage*? this takes *us* from *our* profits, and the *places* of the *advantage*; also of *our* estates and *callings*: Is it *health*? what more hazardous thereunto, or more reasonably likely to be destructive, then *such* a change of *climate*, and alterations of *seasons* thereby, as by the Law *you* may cast us into.

Well, the Lord God eternal will plead with *you*, who have put us upon these things, and with *thee* John Knight in particular: And thou and thy judgment must then come to know for what thou hast done from the hand of the Lord: But before *we* proceed to speak to *thee* any further in *this* matter, we must lay before thee in particular, and bring back upon *thee* thy wickednesse thou hast done unto us, and then thou shalt hear *thy* judgment.

No sooner wast entred into thine ear, but *thy* thoughts gave *thee* what *thou* wouldst do unto *us*, and before *thou* sleepest that night, after *thou* wast sworn Major, didst not *thou* expresse what *thou* would do unto *us*? this being the opportunity *thou* longedst for, wherein to be dealing with *us*, *thou* knowest the work *thou* wast driving on the year before, when (as hath been said) *moderation*, as to *conscience*, sat in the seat of the government. *Thou* knowest what endeavours *thou* usedst to ill-be-speak that *moderation* to the Court; and what *thou* saidst to one of the Kings Secretaries

at Bath, as to us, and what he answered thee, when thou didst put the question (*viz.*) *We have many Quakers in the City; What shall we do with the Quakers: It is the Kings pleasure (thou knowst he said) that they be proceeded withal, with gentlenesse, and won with love, or words to that purpose.* And yet thou knowest as not satisfied with this, how thou spakest with him again about it; and how the same answer thou receivedst, thou shewing thereby what a mind thou haddest to be dealing with us, even when the government was not in thine hands, at least to reflect on those that held thy hands, some of which were then present, if so be that a word had slipped out of the Secretaries mouth for that purpose.

And then after thou wast Major, how soon thou didst cause our peaceable meetings, to be visited after thou hadst some enterchange with some of those called Baptists, and Independants thou knowest; and what thou hast done since to us, which we are now intending to set in order before thee, and now hear what we have to say to thee in this matter.

To omit many things that passed the several first daies of the the week after thy first entrance into thy Mayoralty, wherein the Officers, sometimes Civil, sometimes Military, sometimes both came to our meetings, and required us to depart, yet meddling with non except Elinor Maud, whom the Marshal with Mulqueters had away to the guard, but from thence she was dismissed again: Thus compassing our City like a dog (as the Psalmist speaks, Psal. 59. 6. and in the evening returning, and grudging, and not being satisfied, they return at evening (saith he) they make a noise like a dog, and go round about the City, and at evening let them return, and let them make a noise like a dog, and go round about the

City, ver. 19. and ver. 20. *Let them wander up and down for meat, and grudge if they be not satisfied*; for he that holds the *waters* of the *sea* in his *fist*, and comprehends the *dust* of the *earth* in a *measure*, and weigheth the *mountains* in a *balance*, who declareth to man his *thoughts*, shewed his dominion, and how *he* could keep *thee* off, who had preserved *us* hitherto, and gave us not a prey into *thy* teeth. So that it was not when *thou* wouldest, nor as *thou* wouldest, but when *he* suffered, and as *he* pleased to let it be, was it that *we* were delivered into *thy* hands, who couldst not, nor canst do any thing to *us*, but as thou receivedst power from above; as *he* said to *Pilate*, who is gone before, in *that* day, when *he* said unto him, *Speakest thou not unto me, knowest thou not that I have power to crucifie thee; and have power to release thee* (*Thou couldest have no power at all* (said *he*) *against me, except it was given thee from above*, Joh. 19. 10, 11. So the time being come wherein *we* vvere to be tried, and thereby the vertue that is of him in *us* to be made manifest, *thou* hadst power given *thee*, and not before to enter in upon *us*; and so on the 28. day of the ninth month, called *November*, being vvithin a day of full two months after *thou* vvas sworn Mayor. *Thou* sentest *thy* Officer *John Jones* the *Lawyer*, vvho vvith one of the *Town Clerks* servants, and some other Officers and Souldiers of the *Militia*, vvich thou haddest got into thine assistance, came vvith *swords* and *armes* upon a *naked* people, vvho make (and *their* principle is so) *no* resistance. And after *he* had required *us* to depart, and taken the names of *several* of *us*, *he* sent to the Guard these, vvwhose names follow, viz. *Edward Pyott, Jeremy Hignel, John Gibbons, George Bishopp, Thomas Morris, Lewis Rogers, Nehemiah Pool, Benjamin Cottle, Joseph Jones, James Sterridge, George Oliver, John Spoores.*

These

These being brought to the Guard, were continued there in the wind and cold till about evening, and then *Thomas Walter*, Lievtenant to Captain *Adams* (whose Company then had the guard) came and acquainted *them* that *thy* self, and the *Deputy* Lievtenants, who some of them that very night denied that any such thing was ordered by *them*, had ordered them to be sent to *Bridewel*, so to *Bridewel* they were brought a *place* of reproach, appointed for *Rogues*, and no Prison of the *Kings*) though *they* were pretended to be the *Kings* prisoners, though *some* of *them* were *Citizens*, and *men* of quality therein.

Now it is to be noted, That *Sheriff Streamer* being Major of the *Regiment*, and so having command of the Guard, coming to the Guard and understanding who were brought thither, whereof one was *his* near relation, *viz.* *his* Brother-in-law, and his friend, *viz.* *George Bishopp*, if so be *his* business was to have *him* up, and that that was the end of *that* dayes work; came not into the Guard (understanding him to be, if not seeing him there) but went *his* way to to the meeting-house, and there in person dismiss the rest, without making so much as *one* a Prisoner.

Which *unnaturalness* and *high* ingratitude he learnt, *no* doubt, of *thee*, who (as the sequel of *this* relation signifies) wast well skilled in things of *that* nature, and *his* orders (no doubt) *he* received from *thee*, who as *thy* Buffoon or *Martinape* (as men use to say) most artificially followed the dictates of *thy* mad and hasty spirit, who hadst not (nor had he) learnt that moderation which the whole series of transactions in *this* generation (the most remakable of *any* that had been in the world) would have taught *thee*; as would also the saying of him vvho lives for ever, vvho is the Judge of all (*viz.*) *To do to others whatsoever you would should be done*

unto *your selves*; that is to say, when *you* are in power, so vvarily to extend it, as that *you* may live with *your* Neighbours, and have *their* love when *your* power is gone, and gain the good reputation of *moderate* men. For the vvheel turns round, and as the history of former *ages* have proved on this, *Date obulum Belisario, For Gods sake give a half-penny to Belisarius*, comes to be the portion of many, which besel that great Captain *Belisarius*, vvho in the dayes of *Justinian* the Emperor, did so behave himself in *Persia*, *Affrica* and *Italy*, that he had the honour of *this* Effigies on the other side of the *Coin*, vvith this inscription, *Gloria & Romanorum decus, The Glory and Grace of the Romans*.

And of this *you* vvanted not vvarning, if *you* would have taken heed, nor good Examples before *you*; but as it was said in another case, in a wrong spirit, by *Balack* to *Balaam*, may be said truly of *you*, *The Lord hath kept thee back from honour*, Numb. 24. 11. Or the infatuation of the *Almighty*, because of *your* lust to oppression, hath been so upon *you*, that in *your* day *you* have not known the things that belong unto *your* peace, that is to say, *you* have not taken the course that wise men have steered in all generations, upon the guidance of *their* observation of the revolutions of this World, viz. so to behave *your selves* whilst ye are in Power (as hath been said) as that *you* may live in good reputation with *your* Neighbours vvhen *you* are out of it (that is to say) that *you* may be men when *you* have no power. And this let us say to *you* all, who are joyned together in *this* persecution of the innocent, if such a hand had been carried toward *you* and *this* City in former dayes, as *you* have done in *this*, neither *you* had been so, nor *this* City; that is to say, neither had *you*, nor *this* City been so as at *this* day: And some of *them* whom with so much despight and ignominy *you* now rule over, have been

been *instrumental* that *you* and the *City* have not been otherwise ; and this is the requital you make of all that which hath sought to, and hath saved *you*, thus to do.

But this *your* work will be *your* shame ; and the day is at hand wherein *you* shall hear of it with both *your* ears, that is to say, the *Lord* will so work as that you shall see both where *you* are, and what *you* have been doing, when repentance with some of *you* we fear may be too late, and the place of repentance you will not find, though *you* seek it carefully with tears.

But to proceed, for *thou* must throughly be dealt with ere *this* is finished.

Having lodged the aforesaid Prisoners at *Bridewell*, the next morning thou hadst *them* to the *Council* house, the *Keeper* of *Bridewell* being *their* leader ; and having set *guards* of *Musquetiers* at the *Tolzey* door (contrary to *Law*, which is, that Courts of Justice and Proceedings at *Law*, be open) keeping out whom *they* pleased ; *thou* saidst to *them*, what came into *thy* mind. And though *they* in moderation told *thee*, that *they* had done *no* new thing, but what *they* had *many* years before even *ever* since *they* had been a people. And that experience had shewn in the *greatest* revolutions that had been in *this* Nation, that *they*, and what *they* professed and did, was not inconsistent with the *publique* peace, but that *they*, and the *peace* of the *place* and Nation might be. And that what *they* did was not in *obstinacy* and *contempt*, as *thou* wouldst have rendred it, but in *Conscience* to the *Lord*, whose *worship* was in *Spirit* ; and he sought such to *worship* him, viz. in *Spirit* and in *truth*, Joh. 4. And that *their* suffering Chearfully whatsoever might be done to them in reference to this thing, who had *Estates*, *Relations*, *Families* *Callings*, who knew (as *your* selves might judge) what it was to get and to loose.

loose *their Estates, Libertie, Countries*, did speak that there was something more in it then of *this world*, that made them *willing* thus to offer it up. And though they told *thee* moreover, that as to Government *they* were not against, but did own the *Second Table*, as well as the *First, Masters, Parents, Magistrates, &c.* but *all* in the *Lord*; and that where *they* could, and not sin against the *Lord*, they were obedient; and where *they* could not, they did quietly suffer. And that *ye* had experience of *them* in such things as *they* could do, that they rather went before *you* then otherwise. And though *they* asked *thee* what *thou* would have them to do, seeing their Conscience was not satisfied? Suppose (said *they* to *thee*) that we are mistaken, which (said *they*) *we* are not, but are certain of what *we* do, wouldst thou have *us* to do that which our conscience is against, because of what may be done to *our* bodies, before *we* are convinced of the contrary? Said not the Apostle, *Happie is he that condemneth not himself in the thing that he allows?* Yet thou wouldst not hear; and though thou pretendedst to a great deal of fairness at first, and that *thou* hadst received a Letter from the Kings Council, giving thee direction to take up the *Heads* of *us*, and secure *them* till the *Affizes*, unless they should give Security for their appearance: And told that

|| Not this latter,
but the former.

there vvas the || New Act for Banishment, and didst bid *Edward Pyott* chuse which *he* would have thee to proceed with *him* against, either the *Councils* Letter, or the said Act; yet *thou* putttest *him* to the Oath of *Allegiance*; though when thou putttest the question, he said, there is the mercy of the *Law*, and the *Rigour* of the *Law* before thee, if we must chuse, let us have the *mercie* of the *Law*; thou saidst vve should have the *mercie* of the *Law*, he told thee, *That thy fruits would make it manifest*, being sensible

sensible of thy deceit. And this was the mercie of the Law, or that which thou mightest think too much mercie, viz. the severitie of the Law, or rather the severitie which the Law doth not require; for that Law was made for Papists, and so we are not the people which that Law intends (as Edward Pyott told thee) which is thy mercy; and these thy fruits made thee manifest: And so thou didst commit him (though a free-man of the Citie, whom thou wouldst make a stranger because he lived within a mile without it) and George Oliver, John Gibbins, James Sturridge, Thomas Morris, John Spore, Benjamin Cotile, and Nehemiah Poole, because strangers, for being at an Unlawful meeting, and for not taking the Oath of Alegiance, and for refusing to find Sureties to be of the good behaviour, for which thou signedst the Warrant, (and with thee John Lock, Nathaniel Cale, and John Lawford,) who were sent to Newgate, and the other five that were of the City (viz.) George Bishopp, Jeremiah Hignell, John Summers, Joseph Jones, and Lewis Rogers, thou dismissed upon their promise of appearance at Sessions; so the first eight were detained in Newgate until the fifth of the tenth moneth following, who were then set at liberty by thee, upon the promise of two of their friends that were of the Citie, because they dwelt without the limit thereof, that at Sessions they should appear.

Thus far matters proceeded at that time: Yet thou wast not satisfied, but as a man restless to accomplish the end, thou hadst determined, viz. the rooting of us, and the generation of us, out of this City, we, our families and Relations, who (as hath been said) are no inconsiderable company of men therein, as is well known to the Citie, thou didst work with the Deputies Lieutenants, what with Arguments, what with Threatnigs to represent them to the King as persons

not well affected to *his* affairs, if *they* would not assist *thee* ; and vvith them didst prevail to come down the next *first* day of the *week*, viz. the *6th* of the *10th* moneth, vvith the Sheriff to the meeting, vvhich vvvas *then* before the door of their *own* hired house, being kept out of *their* own hired house by *Armed* men. But the Deputy Lieutenants being men of more moderation, seeing no matter for *their* arms to work on, after they had sent some *few* to *Bridewell*, and some *others* to the Court of Guard, to see thereby how *they* might affect the rest, came away, making *no* farther manner of proceeding in the *case*, then to set *those* on the *Guard* and at *Bridewel* at liberty.

And indeed it was a *thing* preposterous and contrary to *reason*, as it was against *Law*, that *armed* men in *times* of *peace*, should take upon *them*, or suffer *themselves* by *thee* to be over-ruled, to execute the parts of *Civil* officers, in the execution of the *Law* (suppose there had been the breach of *any* law which yet is not granted, except of *what* was *old* and *obsolete*) when the *Civil* themselves might well accomplish it, especially on a *people* who one of the *Officers* might as well lead, as a *Regiment* (that is to say) would make *no* resistance. For the times of *peace* differ, things in cases of *that* nature, according to the *old* maxime, *Cedant Arma togæ*, Let *Arms* give place to the *Gown*, that is, to the *Civil* administration of the *Law* ; for *Arms* are not things natural to *Law*, but where the execution of *Law*, by the hand of the *ordinary* Officer is weak, and cannot be by reason of *Armed* insurrections or *designs* of *War*, there arms are levied and made use of: as *things* extraordinary, as *poison* in *Physick*, to cut off that exuberance, that so the body be not hazarded, that the whole part be not endangered, according to that saying of
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the Poet, *Cuncta prius tentanda, sed imedicabile vulnus, ense recidendum est, ne pars sincera trabatur*; (that is,) *All things are first to be tryed, but an incurable wound must be cut off with the sword, least the sound part be infected.* Thus according to your Law.

But this *thou* didst not do, for (as hath been said) there was no need of *Arms* against *them* who had none, whom one Officer might order as well as a *thousand*, as thine own practice mentioned in the ensuing relation hath made good, and which is a *reproof*, viz. what thou hast done in the *case* to thy self. And was it not a thing *abominable*, that *thou* shouldst set the *Citizens* in *Arms*, to pull their peaceable fellow Citizens from their peaceable meetings, waiting on the *Lord*, in to *Prisons*, and so to ruine (as it might fall out) by the tender of the *Oath of Allegiance*; and the prosecution of the penalty on *them* that could not swear, vvhich Oath was not made for such. For when it vvas made, there was none that could not swear at all: But for the *Papists* it vvas made, that could swear, but would not swear *Alegiance* to the *King*, holding the *Pope* Supreme, as the *preamble* of the *Act*, and the whole reason of it leads and shews.

Now if thou stumblest at this word peaceable, and peaceable meeting, so it is, and vwill stand for ever, and the *Lord* knows it, who will one day plead for *us*, and render unto thee according to thy *deeds*; and this their Neighbours were well satisfied in, who when occasion presented, cleared them of any thing to the contrary more then *once* or *twice*, when *thou* hadst them *Jurors*, that is to say, of meeting with force and arms, or of being a terror to the *people*, notwithstanding *thou* industriously fought to, and wouldst have had it otherwise: And for this purpose bespakest some of the men concerned thy self, not like a righteous Judge or Magistrate, and

contrary to the *Law* of the *Land*, vvhich is, That *no* man be a *prosecutour* and a *Judge*. But of *this* more hereafter.

Moreover, vvas it not a thing most unreasonable, that *Arms* should be required for a people to find, and *they* to be imprisoned for not so doing; and to be fined, and distressed to be taken for that purpose, vvhose principle is not to fight, vvhho cannot do it in defence of *themselves*, cannot resist evil because of him that hath said, *I say unto you, resist not evil, but if the enemy smite thee on the one cheek, turn the other*. Those *arms* also being made use of to keep them out of *their* own hired house, and to break *their* meetings waiting upon the *Lord*; and to keep them in prison, as well as to bring them thither, for their Consciences in Worshipping the *Lord*, and discharging a good conscience towards *him*. And here *boyes* and others, whom one would scorne to put vvith the Dogs of ones flock, were set over them and our *Meetings*.

Lastly, Was it not a shame, as vvell as a *very* heavy burden, that such a *weekly* charge as the *Militia* should be held on the City, for no other end, as hath yet appeared, but the disturbing of us (and other people) as to the Woship of God.

Well, thus far *thou* didst proceed, and *thus* it was, but to little purpose; for *thou* madest the City as weary as *thy* self, vvhho began to think vvhat vvould be the end of *these* things, and to what pass the City in a *short* time would come, being *thus* set, the *one* part of it against the *other*, pulling and endeavouring to root *one* the *other* out of it, even that part who were *peaceable* and a good example in it. And that this should be by *those* who were in the *seat* of *Government*; for said not *be* who is Lord of all, *A kingdom divided against it*

It self cannot stand. And then how could it possibly be well with *Bristol* when *one* part was turned against the *other*, as aforesaid? It may be told *thee*, that it put the greatest thoughts of heart into the sober part thereof that hath been in the *City*, a *City* turning upside down, and those in the *seat of Government* bearing against *that* part thereof which was to be cherished, which was to be upheld. This is a *lamentation*, and shall be for a *lamentation*.

But *thou* missedst in *that* thine attempt *that* day, yet *thou* wouldest not give over, but fury rose up in *thee*, like one who having some notable enterprize in *design*, with which to bespeak, or to raise up himself, missing in his *first* attempt, is led forth with more vigor to accomplish in the *next*, so *thou* surcharged with *wrath* and *anger*, didst breath forth at the *Tolzey*, and threaten what *thou* wouldest do the next day to *such* and *such*, if they were at the meeting; and that *thou* wouldest have *them* up, and gavest order for *that* purpose; and much passed thee there, what *thou* wouldest do unto us.

So the *next* day coming, being the thirteenth of the tenth month, and the *first* day of the *week*, *thou* didst cause the meeting house door to be kept fast with armed men, some of *John Hicks* his company. And so the meeting came to be in the street, and there about the *second* houre in the *afternoon*, *Captain Hicks* (a man as industrious as *thy* self in *these* things, and as full of *mischief* against his quiet neighbours) came down with a *fresh* guard, relieves *them* that were there before. And finding the men *thou* hadst threatned so, and took order about, *viz.* *George Bishop* and *Edward Pyot*, for they were not ashamed to be found *there*, in *their* testimony to the *Lord*, though *they* knew of *thy* order, notwithstanding *all* was still, and not a word spoken, he led *them* away to the guard, and *twelve* more, the names of all are as followeth, *Edward* Pyot,

Pyot, John Withers, Lewis Rogers, George Bishop, Nathanael Day, George Gough, Thomas Goldney, John Summers, John Pickering, John Saunders, John Spoor, Thomas North, Nathanael Milner, Henry Sutton.

Henry Sutton was discharged, being an *ancient* man; but the rest were had to *Bridewel*, with a guard, as if so be *they* had been some notable offenders. And the *worst* of men, and of *most* debauched reputation, to which place (after they had been sometime before on the guard) Captain *Hicks* committed them, so *they* were brought to *Bridewel*; and there lodged some of *them* the *second* time; as if otherwise you knew not how to murder *their* reputation, who were men of *good* reputation, who willingly went out of the Camp, bearing *his* reproach, who suffered without the gate; And so good report and evil report was alike to them in their testimony to the Lord, which *they* had learnt to go through, as did the *Apostles*, and followers of *Jesus*, who were counted as *deceivers*, and yet *true*, who had here (as is our case) no continuing City, but looked for one to come, as *he* did who went before, who that *he* might sanctifie the people with *his* own blood, suffered without the gate; Wherefore *Jesus* also (said the Apostle, Heb. 13. 12, 13.) that *he* might sanctifie the people with *his* own blood, suffered without the gate; let us therefore go forth unto him without the Camp, bearing *his* reproach, for we have here no continuing City, concerning whom when he suffered some then said, *he* was a *just* man, some a *deceiver*; And the Apostle speaking to the *Hebrews* of the *Patriarchs*, and those that went before *them* in that day said, *they* confessed that *they* were *strangers*, Heb. 11. 13, 14, 15, 16. and *Pilgrims* on the earth, for said *he* of them, and *we* may say it now of our selves in this day, *They* that say *such* things declare plainly (and so do *we*) that *they* seek a country

country, and truly if they had been mindful of that country^s from whence they came out, they might have had (and so have we) opportunity to have returned, but now they desire (and we do the same) a better Country, we speak of that which is spiritual, which is heavenly, wherefore God (saith he) is not ashamed to be called their God, and he will not be ashamed to be called ours, for he hath prepared for them a City, and as Paul said to the Corinthians, so may we, I think (saith he) that God hath set us (and we may say the same) the Apostles last as a spectacle (so are we) to God, Angels, and men, and as Jesus himself said, John 16. 1, 2, 3. so we finde fulfilled these things have I spoken unto you (and what he spake unto his Disciples then, he spake unto all that should believe in his name, that ye should not be offended, they shall put you out of the Synagogues. Yea the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you (a true word of thee) shall think that he doth God good service. And these things will they do unto you (saith he) because they have not known the father nor me. Blessed are ye (saith he) when men shall revile you (our case) and persecute you (as you do us) for my sake, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, (as they do of us for my sake) rejoyce (our condition) and be exceeding glad (and it is so to us) for great is your reward (we shall have the same) in heaven, for so persecuted they (as you do us) the Prophets that were before you, Mat. 5. 11, 12.

And this is manifest; for if you pleased you could have committed them as well to Newgate, as to Bridewel; or you could have lodged them at some place, near your guard; or you could have dismissed them till the morrow, who would have appeared but you thought to hurt them, which you could not do, for they had learned another thing, (viz. to be content in all conditions;) and this is their Crown, and will be

be *their* Honour, that *they* suffer for the *truth*, as it is in *Jesus*, and this we tell *thee John Knight*, that their memorial will be *blesſed*, and of a good favour in *England*, when *thou* and *thy* name shall rot, whose name is *rotten* already, who art the *ſtench* of the *City*; and of *those* who are neere it, who truly understand thee, who shalt have thy portion according to *thy* deeds.

Thus having put *them* in *Bridewel*, one night *thou* satteſt in council about them the *next* day, and at the time of *full Tolzey*, *thou* muſt have *them* before *thee*. And *John Waldron* the *Keeper* muſt lead them as in *triumph*, and before *ye* they muſt be brought in a *cloſe* Chamber, and all people muſt be kept out, except ſuch as you pleaſe; And what were of *your* own Spirit, that ſo what paſſed, as to the making out of *their* innocency might not be heard; and to the *prison* they muſt be ſent as *Offendors* in the face of the *City*, and be reckoned as *transgreſſors*, and ſome *horrible* ones too, that that which paſſed concerning *them*, was kept ſo *ſecret*, as in a *Chamber*, and that thoſe who ought to have been ſuffered to come in to be ſatiſfied in the cauſe of *their* commitment were kept out; Now *Courts* of *Juſtice* ſhould be open, vvhich *yours* vvas not, vvhich is *ſecret* murder, vvhich is abominable to the *Law*, vvhich provides that proceedings be *publick*, vvhich *you* ſeek to ſubvert. And therein that vvhich is the *fundamental* Law of *this* Nation, for which *you* may have a *day* to answer, vvherein *you* vwill know, vvhath *you* have done, though now you vwill not hear (ſuppoſing its like) that *you* will never be brought to an account, but we vwould not have *you* to be deceived, as *you* have ſowne, ſo *ye* ſhall reap.

Well, *this* day thou beganeſt vvith *Edward Pyot*, and ſpakeſt many *ſmooth* vvords, telling of the duty of *thy* place,
and

and the Councels Letter to thee, and the *execution* of the Law, and vvhat vvvas required of *thee* in *all* vvithout, having regard to vvhat concerned the duty of *thy* place, as from the Lord; but as if there had been a necessity for *thee* to persecute and force us to suffer, so *thou* vventest on, to which *Edward Pyot* answered *thee* on this vvise. As I vvell understand the place of *them* that vvvere to obey, so I have an understanding also of the place of *Magistrates*, as they are the ordinance of *God*; *you* that are in the places of *Magistrates*, ought to mind the Lord as your supreme *Lord*, and over *all* in the government of the *world*, unto whom *Rulers* themselves, as well as the ruled, must give an account; and therefore in the execution of the *laws*, and administration of *Justice*, *you* are to have a *due* regard to the Lord, and to *his* laws, and to do the *Justice* that is of him, for *Magistrates* by the appointment of *God* are to *execute* in *their* several places of Judicatory, as *Gods* ministers, and not as *their* own Lords, nor as *Lords* of *their* own rule; but in the fear of the Lord, they, as *Gods* Ministers, are to rule for *God*, and not for *themselves*, nor after *their* own wills and pleasures, but according to the *righteous* law of *God*, in the *just* and *equal* principle that is of *God* in *their* Consciences, that the *Justice* that is of *God*, and *righteous* Judgment by *Magistrates*, as *Gods* Ministers, may be impartially administered, *for the punishment of evil doers onely, and for the praise of them that do well*, that *God* over all may reign, and by *all* be known to rule in the *kingdomes of men*; and after some interruption, as *he* could have liberty, *he* spake to this purpose: We being found in *our innocent and peaceable* meetings, *onely* in the *worship* of *our* *God*, and of the number of *well-doers*, whatever laws may be made against *us* by men, yet according to the *law* and *Justice* of *God*, we ought not for *our* well doing to be punished

as *evil doers*: take heed therefore what *you* do, that you be not a *terror* to good works. Now when *thou* wast not able to resist what in truth and soberness was spoken to *thee*, though thou haddest before told *him*, that *thou* wouldest make use of the *mercy* of the law, yet that *thou* mightest make *him* a transgressor by law, who had told *thee* before that he could not swear, *thou*, without mercy, diddest again tender to *him* and *John Spoor* the oath of allegiance, saying, *thou* wouldest dispatch *him* first, otherwise *thou* shouldest not quietly proceed with the rest, so *thy* fruits shewed what *thy* mercy was, as he then told *thee*: and to *Newgate* thou sentest *him* and *John Spoor*, for being at an unlawful meeting, and for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and for not finding sureties for the good behaviour, as is contained in *their mittimus*, for to the oath of allegiance *thou* didst put *them* again, though *they* could not swear at all, in conscience to the command of *Christ*, who saith, *I say unto you, swear not at all*, not as to the matter of the oath, which was for *Papists* and not *them*; and this was *thy* mercy (as hath been said) to seek out wayes how to make *them* to suffer, though *thou* pretendedst to the contrary. And *this* warrant was signed *John Knight* Mayor, *John Lock*, *Nathaniel Cale*, *John Lawford*, and it was dated 14th Dec. 1663.

Now as *Edward Pyot* was passing to *Newgate* through the *Tolzey*, and seeing there many people, and some that were wise and sober men, and finding something arising in *him* towards them to speak in reference to the matter, upon which he was committed, said, *I* have something reasonably to speak to *you*, as to men of understanding; We that are called *Quakers*, do own our selves to be subject to Magistracy in all those matters and things which concern our outward man, but as for our inward man, we own that to be the *Lords* onely, and not

not at all to be the servant of men; and as for *that* Scripture which saith, *let every soul be subject to the higher power*, we own its authority, but that it doth not require the subjection of the *inward* man, in the matters of conscience, which relates to the *worship* of God, I offer, this is as a *reasonable* demonstration, which is, that if *this* Scripture enjoyned the subjection and obedience of the *inward* man in the matters of Conscience, relating to the *worship* of God, if the then *Emperour* of Rome, (who was a *Heathen*, and a *worshipper* of false gods) had made an *Edict* to inforce the *primitive* Christians from *their* Christian worship (which was in *spirit*, according to the Doctrine of *Christ*, *Job. 4.*) and for them to *worship* as *he* and the *Heathen Romans* worshipped, *they* must then of necessity have been subject (which is *ridiculous* to affirm) for the Christians to whom *this* Epistle was written, were *Romans*. And as to *their* outward man, they were under the power and government of the *Emperour* of Rome: and therefore it must needs follow that the *subjection* and obedience required in this Scripture, is onely in things relating to the *outward* man, and not at all of the subjection of the *inward* man in the things relating to the worship of God.

So said *Edward Pyot*, but as *he* had spoken *these* last words, *Captain Ollive* being then at the *Tolzey*, came and *rudely* took him by the shoulder, and would not suffer *him* to speak any more, but caused him to be had to *Newgate*, to the offence of several sober men present, and men of *quality*, who (some of them) after *Edward Pyot* was gone, spake to *him* about it, as disliking the thing, that *men* for *their* consciences should not be suffered to speak, or that *men* should suffer for their Consciences, which *he* and every man would willingly for *himself* enjoy; but herein *he* shewed himself rather a man made up of *formality* and the *authority* of the *times*, than of

true wisdom and moderation, so to deal with one that he knew was a man, and his antient acquaintance, and that had been a Captain in the City.

Then George Bishop, and Lewis Rogers, were committed for being at an unlawful meeting, under pretence of divine worship, and for refusing to dissolve being thereunto lawfully required, and for not finding sureties for the good behaviour; Dated the same day, and signed by thy self, and the rest that signed the warrant aforesaid, though they were all taken up in the street, near to, and at the door of our meeting house, where all were still, and not one word spoken, nor action done, onely they, with some others of their friends, were there standing, and then Captain Hicks spake to them to depart; they refused not, but presently went with the Officers, in a manner as soon as Captain Hicks had faintly made the Proclamation for that purpose.

As for Thomas Goldney and the rest, except Nathaniel Milner, who being not in the List of the Prisoners kept at Bridewell, was not there kept, you required them to appear on the fourth day of that week, upon the account of Burgessees of the City, who appearing, you bad to go home about their occasions, so there was an end. And why not Edward Pyot and George Bishop, as well as they, seeing they were Citizens? and why not Lewis Rogers, seeing he was the apprentice of a freeman, and that his Masters family depended upon his labour in part, for maintenance, against whom thou hadst nothing to say, whose name is Joseph Owen? Was it not hard measure in thee to make the master suffer for the servant, yea, the master and not the servant, for the servant was thereby kept from work, and so would not suffer, but they would suffer whose maintenance in part came in by his work, as thou wast told? And because thou wast so told in moderation and meek-

meekness by one of the Prisoners, *thou* tookest the *Statute* book, and demanded of *him*, who so spake to *thee*, whether he would take the *Oath of Allegiance* (the usual manner of thy Predecessors in the dayes of Queen *Mary*) who when *they* knew not what to say against a man, or what was spoken presently, it was demanded, *What say you to the Sacrament of the Altar?* as the *book* of *Martyrs* mentions. He who spake to *thee* was *George Bishop*, who demanded thereupon of *thee*, whether what *he* had said was so offensive, as that it deserved the tending of *him* the *Oath*? but *thou* wouldst not give over tending it notwithstanding, till *he* told *you* that *you* knew he could not swear, vvho before he spake in this matter of tenderness and equity had not the *Oath* put to *him*.

And now let *all* that are sober judge, whether what *he* spake was not reasonable, and that which should have been taken well at *your* hands, to wit, to inform how the *matter* stood with the *young man*, that so *you* might not do any wrong through mistakes or ignorance, which (though *he* did as aforesaid) with *all* meekness and moderation, yet with *you* it bore no other weight then to be so returned. So *you* have the *Oath of Allegiance* upon all essayes as a weapon in *your* hand at *this* day, to use to *them* that *you* know in *Conscience* cannot swear, as *they* had in the *Marian*, which you exercise at pleasure upon the innocent, when *you* have nothing else to say, or when what is said doth not like *you*, as *they* did then, who thus carried it against the *innocent*, as it is by *you* at *this* day.

So *ye* be witnesses unto *your* selves, that *ye* are the children of *them* that put to death the *Martyrs*, fill *ye* up then the measure of *your* fathers, that all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous *Abel*, unto the blood

blood of *Zacharias* son of *Barachias*, who you slew between the *Temple* and the *Altar*, and that hath been shed since may come upon *you*, and verily it shall fall on *this* generation.

And why could not *John Spore* have been sent home also, *he* being a poor man, and living in the *Countrey* near, and having a family depending upon *his* liberty, for his maintenance. One would think *thou* mightest have left the *strangers* to their own Neighbour Justices to deal with *them*, who knew them, seeing the *Law* is *general*?

And why not *all* of *them* sent home as well as some, for as much as *all* were at the *same* place, and stayed as long or longer than *they*, and did no other thing but what the *others* had done, vvhom thou hadst sent to *Newgate*, as afore-said?

If *thou* sayest *Edward Pyott* lived not in the *City*, though *he* was a *Burges*s, it is answered, *his* living is *very* near, as afore-said. And 'tis strange that a *miles* distance should set *him* altogether from being considered as a *Burges*s in this particular, who removed *there* only for the *aire*, when as in *other* things you will deal with *him* as a *Burges*s; and with *George Bishopp* you dealt the same as to imprisonment, vvho vv as a *Burges*s, and lived in the *City*, and vv as born in it, who had done more for *you* and the *City*, then is *here* intended to be related, though in *recompence*, and as a *token* of *your* love you made him the *only inhabiting* Citizen prisoner, as Alderman *Cale* then observed to you.

If *thou* sayest *they* vv ere taken up a *week* or *two* before, and set at liberty; and *now* were had in Custody again: It is answered, the rest vv ere in the *same* places, and at the *same* time present, and yet *neither* imprisoned *nor* so dealt vv ith.

If *thou* repleist, it was to make them Examples, being accounted as *leading* men, and as *heads* (as *you* call them) Alas, how are *ye* befooled, vvhhen as daily experience proves, that those people have a *head* and *leader* in them, whom none of *these* things *thou* hast deuized and used (take in *this* to the number) hath deterred from, but rather brought to *meetings*. And herein *you* have honoured *them* though against *your* wills, in accounting *them*, by *your* proceedings, *Leaders* and *Heads* of such a people, who stand to, and testifie the *dominion* that is *Eternal* over the *Consciences* of *men* in *matters* of *Worship*, vvhich the *usurpation* of *man* would stand over, and this is *their* honour. And this record shall bear it for *them* to *all* generations, vvhhen *you* are gone and laid in your dust, *who* have persecuted *them* for bearing testimony to *his* dominion in the *Conscience*, who is Lord of *all*, against the *usurpation* of *you* and *all* men, which as hath been said, shall stand by *them* for ever and ever.

And these things are spoken to the intent that it may appear that *your* proceedings are *partial*, and not out of *Conscience*, though *thou* *John Knight* dost so loudly boast, that what *thou* dost is out of *Conscience* (of which *more* anon) and therefore it is that *thou* thus proceedest.

We know *thou* wilt pretend that *thou* hadst directions from the *Kings* Council *so* to proceed, which *thou* didst produce, when *they* vvere *first* before *thee*, as hath been before mentioned, which gave *thee* orders (as *thou* read it) to keep *them* in *prison* till the next Goale delivery, if *they* would not find sureties to appear, or to that purpose; and thereupon *thou* biddest *them* chuse whether *they* would be *so* proceeded against, or on the late Act, whose end was Banishment; and then didst shew some of *them* thy mercy in tending them the Oath of *Alegiance*, and committing *them* for that

that they could not swear, as hath been said.

But *this* Fig-leaf will not cover *thee*, for who *was* *he* that Wrote up to *Whitehall*, and gave the *Council* to understand *otherwise* of the *City* and us then it was? And insinuated dangers that were not, and drew over *them* and the *City* such an understanding as neither *they* nor the *City* did discern, and then produced the *Councils* Letter upon such suggestions; *thou* shouldst have shewn that, and have ingeniously confessed that *thou* wrotest *such* a *Letter* (for *thou* mightst well conclude that *we* might come to know it) and that because thou *thy* self wouldst not seem to bring the *ruine* upon *them*, and so the destruction on the *City*, which *thou* hadst in thy heart, therefore thou hast done *this*, and hast laid it upon the *Council*, and so hast abused the *Council*, as *thou* hast wronged us. This had been something, bare fac'd, and like a *plain man*, at least like *one* that was so satisfied, and in love with his own actions, that *he* dares to avow *them* before the *world*; and not as one that doth *mischief*, and then sinks into a corner. Indeed the *Council* (as hath been said) could not be expected otherwise to direct (being sworn to attend the safety of the *Kingdome*) upon *such* suggestions, that *such* a *City* as *Bristol*, and so to *England* as *Bristol* is, was in *such* danger, and that by *such* a people as *we*, and *our* meetings, which in *no* more danger was, nor is, nor will be, as to *us*, and *our* meetings, then of children in *their* beds asleep (as thou wast told) nor deserving such suggestions. How could the *Council* answer the not sending such directions upon *such* informations as *these*? But as for the *King*, *thou* knevest his mind at *Bath* by his Secretary, as aforesaid, and *his* good aspect of *this* place vvhhen *Himself* vvvas lately in it; and no hand of *His* vvvas to the *Letter*.

So that it appears, that through *thine* own *mischievous* sug-

suggestions it was, that *Bristol* came to be had in *disrepute*, and that *such* an innocent people therein came to suffer, which *thou* vvouldst need cover with a necessity from the *Council*, and their order, which thy suggestions procured.

It could here be reckoned up vvhat *heaps* of *Informations* thou mountedst up against *diverse* eminent men in the *City*, that had been, and vvere Magistrates, because *they* had before *thy* day held *moderation* in the *Government*, as to *conscience* (as hath been said) and others, whose crime (as *thou* didst endeavour to make it) was because *they* came to visit those whom *thou* hadst made Prisoners, of vvhom they were near relations, as *Brother in-law*, *Uncle*, &c. *Partners* in *Merchandizing*, as to which *they* had business; and how enraged thou wast at the *general* applause of the *sober* part of the *City* with the *Prisoners* and *Cities* detestation of *thee*, and what thou didst to *us*, which (their visits) thou laidst as the *ground* of *thine* *Informations*; and so, because *they* were *thy* Prisoners, *thou* vvouldst not have *them* (though the Law allowed it) to be visited, and this upon the *foot* of vvhat hath been mentioned; but because this was *somewhat* after in order of time produced, though *now* in design and preparation, it shall be in *this* place omitted, and a return made to our state, as it was vvhen *thou* madest them Prisoners.

Much was the *Love* of the *City* manifested to the *Prisoners*, even beyond the *president* of *former* dayes, and continual visits were to them, and as Doves flock to the windows, so came *they* to see *them*, manifesting *their* great disgust of *thee* for doing as *thou* hadst to *us*; and not a *day* passed without *some* manifestation of their *love*. And vvhereas *thou* didst seek by what thou hadst done, to cool the esteeme of the *City* to *us*, and to bring *us* under, it arose the *more* abundantly,

and so the *more* thou didst persecute *us*, the *more* we grew, so that *thou* lost on every hand the *love* of the *people*, because thou persecutedst the innocent, and *thy* design to decrease them, which vvas the intent of *thy* persecution. Therefore least thou shouldst altogether miscarry, and so on no hand be saved, one of the Prisoners being moved of the *Lord*, thus wrote and sent unto *thee* :

Friend,

VWE are innocent, as to God, to Men, to Thee, we live in all good Conscience, giving no just occasion of offence to any; the King, thy Self, the Government are safe in Us; we desire your welfare, God is witness, our meetings are in obedience to the Lord, and not in any opposition unto you, the Law or Government, the searcher of the heart knows it is truth, who will render unto every man according to his deeds, our refusing to swear, is in obedience to the Lord, because the Law of him we cannot transgress; our behaviour hath been in the fear of the Lord, and no other thing have you had from us; our conversation hath been blameless, as amongst men, and we are clear, as in the sight of the Lord; we have not been an oppression to this City, nor the Nation, nor to any particular therein, but what in us lies we have had peace with all men, and we desire the destruction of none, but the salvation of all, even our enemies, whom we pray for, whom we bless, whom we love; we cannot resist evil, because of him that hath said, Resist not evil. We are in Peace, and we would be in peace; times have tried us, revolutions, great revolutions, the greatest revolutions this Nation hath had, have proved us a people not dangerous to Government, nor to the peace and safety of this place. You have had no hurt from us, we
have

have done you no hurt, God is witness, and that of him in your Consciences, which shall one day witness for us in you, that it is so whether you will or no; we are ready to be offered up as to all we have or are, in the testimony of the Lord, and the dominion of him in our Consciences, which we cannot give nor bow to man that must dye, nor to the son of man that must perish and come to nought, whose breath is in his nostrils; and wherein is he to be accounted of? In other things (as we can in conscience to God) we are subject, of which you your selves are witnesses, doing more then you have expected at our hands, in some things, as you know we are a considerable body of people in this City, we, our families, our relations, our estates; we are of the City, and in the City, and inhabitants thereof, and enterwoven are we therein, and with the people thereof, as a mans flesh is in his body, and his spirit in his flesh, the separation of us from the City will prove, as of a mans flesh from his body, and his spirit from his flesh, when you have liberty to do it from above (for you can do nothing at all to us, but as you have power from above) you will see it, the day of Gods vengeance is at hand, wherein he will render to every man according to his deeds; the Lords controversie is with all those who oppugne his dominion in the consciences of men; and he will pluck them up root and branch, and they shall know that he is the Lord: It is the word of the Lord, and shall be fulfilled in its season, and the time is near: So my friend, take heed, there is no dallying in things of this nature, thou wilt find it so in the end. I desire it may be, before it be too late; for this know assuredly, that the Lord will avenge the quarrel of his people, and he will plead the cause of those that suffer for his Name, and ye shall be rooted up, that rise up against them, it is the Word of the Lord; not with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood, but by burning and fewel of fire, by the Spirit

of the Lord; therefore take heed. I warn thee once more, in the Name of the Lord, who am thy Friend,

George Bishopp.

The Newgate Prison Bristol,
the 15th of the 10th Month.

The *Original* of *this* was delivered thee the *day* of the date, and *thou* didst receive and read it, though it held *thee* not long, for the 27th day of the same moneth, the meeting was molested again, and the door was made fast, whereby some were kept up in the *Meeting-house*, and some in the *street*, being not suffered to go in, and from being in the street before the door; thy men in arms had *Thomas Speed*, who there sate in *stillness and peace*, and from out of the *meeting house* was brought *Charles Jones*, and *William Taylor* (thy neighbour) and in the high street, far distant from the *meeting house*, *Miles Dixon* was met, and warned to appear before *thee* the next day, who with the rest, were dismissed upon *their* promise of appearance upon *Summons*, and so *Brideael* was not made *their* Banqueting house, nor place of entertainment, as it was the *others*; but they returned to *their* houses. Indeed *Sheriff Streamer*, the *Major* of the *Regiment*, to whom was attributed that *dayes* disturbance, and who, out of the naughtiness of *his* heart, was too much pleased with such actions, told *Thomas Speed*, as something in excuse of what had been done (for *T. Speed* was *his* uncle) *That he was sworn to execute the Law*. To whom *T. Speed* reply'd, *They that did put them to death, whom you call Martyrs, and I too, said they had a Law*.

So the next day, having notice, they appeared at the *Tolzey*, but thou having something to do at *thy* Worship, put them off,

off after it was ended, to the next day, *T. Speed* then speaking with *thee*.

The next day *they* appearing, *thou* satest in the lower Tolzey, with thy brethren, for *they* demanded an open place, where *all* that would might come in and hear, and there *thou* didst shew *thy* self as *thou* art, a man full of rage and violence, and that sought the blood of the innocent, most unlike a righteous Judge or Magistrate; and then hadst *thy* Sheriff Streamer there, who, though unconcerned as a Magistrate, for none he was, that is to say, a Justice, yet he took upon him very much, which some of eminent quality in the City, who being present, took part with the innocent, being grieved to the heart (the place being full) to see such heat, partiality and prejudice with *thee*, that didst sit as Judge, and how contrary to Law *thou* didst carry matters; for when *thou* didst demand sureties for *their* appearance, which *they* could not give, because it was in matters of conscience, and *their* testimony to the Lord, which *they* could not bring under by submitting to sureties, or yielding that *others* should be bound for *them*, for if *their* own reputation stood good, what need is there of another being surety for *them*? and *they* were conscious of nothing *they* had done that might vail it, or bring it under, and therefore could not submit the truth in *them*, which was *yea*, and not *yea* and *noy* to be brought under; *we* say, when *thou* demandedst sureties for *their* appearance, * divers friendly men of quality voluntarily present, offered themselves sureties for *them*, which *thou* wouldst not accept, except the persons concerned would assent thereunto, which *they* could not do, for that was equivalent with finding sureties themselves,

* Captain John Knight and Robert Tates (late Aldermen in the City, whose uncle Thomas Speed was) with others, who were ready to do the same, and readred themselves, but were not accepted, because the design was to make *their* conscience, or persons to suffer.

and

and so *they* should bring under *their* reputation, and the Testimony of the *truth* of God in *them*, which was *yea*, that is to say, that which it said was so; but this *they* did, *they* tendred *their* promise, or word of appearance, which *they* are known to be *men* to perform, especially in *matters* of *conscience*, wherein the *name* of the *Lord* is concerned. Nay, *Thomas Speed* told *thee*, that if *thou* couldst say in *thy* conscience that *thou* didst believe *they* would not appear, when *they* had given *their* word *they* would find sureties, but what *thy* conscience was therein, *thou* wouldest not declare, which shewed, that *thou* didst believe in *thy* Conscience that *they* would, for if *thou* hadst believed otherwise, *thou* wouldest have said so, for it then did concern *thee* so to have done, and to have taken *him*, but this *thou* wouldest not do, nor accept of *those* that proffered *themselves*, which is against *law*, and so did shew that *thou* determinedst in *thy* self to make *them* to suffer. We say, * some of *these*

* Captain John Knight.

that so profered *themselves*, thy Sheriff reflected upon *very* much, and *high* words grew from the *one* to the *other*, which afterwards made matter of trouble at *Court*, the said Sheriff finding *himself* agrieved, vvhoo offered the injury, and vvhhen it came to it vvhould not appear at *hearing*, and so shewed how little vveight *their* vvas at the bottom, the *great* matter of complaint being, that *he* vvas called the *Kings* Goaler, and *no* Justice vvhich vvas offered the Sheriff upon his interposing in the business of *these* men, vvhoo vvas not concerned; so *thou* sentest *them* avway prisoners for not taking the oath of allegiance, vvhich *thou* tendredst to them, (the old snare to intrap *such* as cannot svveare, vvhhen no other vwayes *they* can vvell be reach'd) and for refusing to find sureties for *their* appearance at *Sessions*; and though *thou* couldst not but see how much it vvas against the hearts of the multitude

tude present, (vvho vvhere griev'd to behold thee ripping up the City (as it vvhere) and putting to trouble the *honest substantial* men thereof, and placing *them* in order to ruine, and so were thinking to what *these* things would come) yet *thou* wouldst needs go on, and having made before some steps in persecution, *thou* wouldst proceed, though it cost thee the ruine of *thy* self and *them*.

And so blind vvaist *thou*, and mad in *thy* pursuit, that vvhen *thou* savvest, and it vvas proved before *thy* face in the view and hearing of the *people*, that the *five* vvittnesses produced against *them* vvhere all *false sworn* in the particular of *Miles Dixon*, who first swore that *they* saw him at the meeting, and so *his* name was inserted in the *mittimus*, to go to prison, and then *one* after *another*, when he demanded it of *them*, whether *they* saw him at the meeting? denied, and said, *they* did not see him at the meeting, vvhereupon *thou* vvaist constrained to cause *his* name to be struck out of the *mittimus*, and *one* of *them*, viz. Sergeant *Sloper*, said, *I told your worship so before, that I met him in the high-street, yet your worship would have it in*, that is in the *Deposition* a thing *most* abominable, and to be noted! yet nothing was done to these men, who appeared out of *their* own mouths *thus* false sworn in the view of the *Court*, but they were suffered to be as good evidence against the *other three* (and *other* than these *thou* hadst *no* evidence) and didst upon what *they* swore, send *them* to prison. And *this* is recorded as a *perpetual* mark of *thy* wickednesse and folly for which thou shalt receive *thy* reward.

And so imperious wast *thou* and foolishly lording it (who art known well enough in *this* City, vvhat *thou* art, and from whence *thou* camest, and how *thou* hast lived) that as if these men had been *thy* vassals, or such as did not deserve the *Civil* appellations of *men* (whose reputation, as *men*, stands

(saving *thy* being *Mayor*) as good as *thine*, thou didst *Sirrah* them, and *Tom* thou hadst up; Alas *John Knight* ! whither wilt thou drive ? and how *unhandsomly* dost thou clime into the seat of Honour ? (and yet of honour it is not, for an honourable person would abhor *so* to do) out of which *this* cast thee, and makes thee to be the scorn of the *City*, in which thou hast been bred,* and hast lived ; but *this* is the reward of all those who turn against the truth, the Lord suffers them to draw contempt and obloquy upon themselves, and shame comes to be the promotion of fools, as the spirit of the Lord testified by his servant Solomon, Prov. 3. 35.

So *this* day ended not to the prejudice of them (as the hand of the Lord ordered it contrary to *thy* will) or the cause for which they suffered. But the advantage, for *these* things being open, and in the face of the *City*, it turned the heart of it the more against thee, and caused their love to flow to them whom thou wouldest despise and trample under ; and in their visits they manifested *this* ; neverthelesse they were not thy enemies whom thou thus didst use, and clap up from their occasions and business, which was somewhat great ; and by what thou hadst done to them, hadst threatned the end of them (as to liberty) and what they had in the world, but in love they sought thee, and thy welfare, who never had done thee any wrong, if by any means *thine* eyes might be opened, and *so* mightest come to see what thou hadst been doing, and turn unto the Lord ; which was manifested partly in a Letter which one of them thus wrote unto thee ;

From Newgate Prison 31th of 10th. month. 1663.

Friend,

THE God of Heaven is not well pleased with thee, because thy wayes are not found right in his sight, the innocent (who

(who are to him as the apple of his eye) are by thee oppressed and afflicted. The same Jesus against whom Saul zealously fought in the time of his ignorance, dost thou now persecute in his suffering members, of which, what can be the consequence (without Sauls repentance) but a fearful expectation of wrath and Judgment from the hand of the righteous God, the sovereignty of the great God over the Consciences of men, dost thou violently attempt to invade, and to usurp to thy self who art a man that must die, and the son of man whose breath is in thy nostrils, and dost thou judge thy self stronger than the Almighty? or canst thou strive with thy maker, and prosper? Consider, O man, what thou art now doing, ere it be too late, and there be no place left for repentance. They that live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution, as say the holy Scriptures, but woe unto him or them by whom they suffer, better for them, unless they repent, that they had never been born, and that the womb that bare them had been their grave, that they might never have seen the light; think seriously with thy self, how thou wilt be able to stand in Judgment with him who is a consuming fire, in the day when he shall come to plead with thee the cause of the innocent, will it then suffice for thine acquitment, to say that thou hadst a law, and by that law they ought to suffer? was not holy Daniel hurried into the Lions den, and the three faithful children into the furnace, by a law? and will the Judge of all the earth accept of that plea from the executioners of that law, so as to acquit them? Did not the murderers of Jesus Christ (in whose mouth never was guile found) say, we have a law, and by our law he ought to die, but did that save them from the wrath of God his Father, so as that he hath not since sorely visited his innocent blood upon them and their children, in the view of all Nations? Will not Bonner and his Complices be found not guilty before the Tribunal of the

Almighty, if this plea prove valid, who ruined the estates, and consumed into Ashes in the Flames, the bodies of many holy Martyrs, during the time of the Marian persecution? by him who made heaven and earth, must both the law, and thou, and we be judged, and then nothing but that which is righteous in his sight will stand and abide his tryal, and then will not that very law which he hath engraven in thine heart judge thee, which saith, whatever thou wouldest that men shall do unto thee, do thou even the same unto them, which, whether thou dost now practise, we leave to the Lord, and to his witness in thee, and in the Consciences of all sober minded persons within this City, to judge and to determine. Let me yet further reason with thee, and be not offended, for in tender love to thine immortal soul, (the Lord is my witness) do I write these things. Hast thou the spirit of Christ? if not, sad is thy condition, for he that hath not the Spirit, (as saith the Scripture) is none of his; If thou hast it, O then where are the fruits? the fruits of that holy spirit are love, gentleness, meekness, long-suffering, mercifulness, forgiveness, &c. this spirit never prompted or prevail'd with any man to persecute others for conscience sake, they in whom this spirit dwelt in all ages were persecuted, but never found persecutors, envied, but not envying, hated, but not haters of others, suffering for the matters of their God, but not causing others to suffer. Paul who had this spirit, speaking of things appertaining to Conscience, saith, Let every man be fully perswaded in his own mind, (for mark) every one of us shall give an account of himself to God, Rom. 14. 5, 12. And, as you have received Christ Jesus, walk in him. Col. 2. 6. By this spirit the Apostle Peter said, Be subject to every ordinance of man for the Lords sake. And the same Peter, by the same spirit, (being commanded by the Rulers not to speak at all, or teach in the name of Jesus) did (choosing rather to obey God

God than men) speak openly, and boldly in his name. Weigh these things in a cool, unprejudiced spirit, and hearken to, (and that thou mightest also know) the things that do belong to the peace of thy precious soul in this thy day whilst thou art on this side the grave. Remember, O remember in whose hands is the breath of thy nostrils, who can soon turn thee into dust. Thou knowest not how soon the King of Terrours may knock at thy doors, with a Commission from the Lord, to remove thee from the land of the living, and then peace with thy maker (against whom thou art now contending) will be more worth than the whole world, but not then to be purchased with all the Treasures thereof. I say therefore again, Despise not the friendly advice of him (whilst thou hast yet a season) who in heart desireth thine eternal welfare, lest when thou come to lay thine head upon thy Death pillow, and the Terrours of the Almighty seize on thee, thou shouldst then cry unto the Lord for mercy; and he should say unto thee, my love often called unto thee, and thou wouldest not hear, in the day of thy outward prosperity, I would have won thee with kindnesse, but thou wouldest not hearken; Now therefore I will stop mine ears at thy cry, reap the fruits of thine own works, and let misery be thy portion, until Eternity shall have an end. Hear and fear the Lord, and despise not the Counsell of him who is truly breathing in his heart to the Lord, for the salvation of thy precious soul, (and in the Lord) wisbeth well to thee and thine.

Tho. Speed.

This (as hath been said) was wrote, and also delivered to thee, and with how much tendernes, and an earnest desire

of thy welfare, and *how* suitable it was to *thy* state, and *how* weighty let the *sober* judge; one would have thought that *thou* wouldest have taken *such* a man in *thine* armes, and hugged *him* in *thy* bosome (considering *his* love and zealous care of *thy* welfare) and *never* have let *him* go from out of thy heart, whilst *thou* haddest a being or breathedst on the earth, put case there had been a mistake in *some* particulars (as to which there was *non*, and *thou* shalt *one* day know it, the intent of *his* heart in *such* a thing of weight as *thine* eternal welfare, that it might be well with *thee*, for ever would have sunk into an *ingenious* breast, and never would have suffer'd *that* man to die *there*, who would have *thee* live for ever; and though the *expostulations* were *quick* and *piercing*, yet an *ingenious* man would have considered with *himself*, *why* he mindes *my* welfare, he judges me to be out of the *way*, (and perhaps *I am*, 'tis good for me to consider) the things as *they* stand are stated *truly*, granting *them* as *they* are stated, onely *he* hath mist (and let me see whether indeed *he* hath done *so*; for I may be in a *mistake*) the *application*; Its good for *me* to heed whether it be *so* or *no*, a *wrong* zeal may carry *me* forth as it did *Saul*; Who breathed forth *threatnings* and *slaughter*, and haled *men* and *women* out of *houses* (as *I* have caused to be done) and though (as *I* have done) *he* ought to do *all* things against *that* name of *Jesus*, and was *mad*, as himself said (and am not *I* as *he* was then) and persecuted *them* even to *strange* Cities (as *I* have in the *Parliament*, and in *London* and *Westminster*) and sought to bespeak *them* the worst *I* could, and to cut *them* off from the face of the earth, that *so* neither *name* nor remnant might be left of *them* from *generation* to *generation*; and yet *Saul* came to see it otherwise, and to be *knocked* down in the *way*. As he was posting to *Damascus* with

with *Letters* from the *high Priests* and *Rulers* to persecute them there, and he was told, *I am Jesus whom thou persecutest*; It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks, and he became a *Preacher* of the same *Jesus*. (And O that it might be so with me, if I am as he was, and do persecute *Jesus*) he was also an *eminent Apostle*, and converted multitudes to the faith of *Jesus*, and suffered for his name, who for his name made others to suffer; And when thy holy martyr *Stephen* was stoned (said he) I stood by and held the garments of them that did it, and consented to his death (as I have made them to suffer, if so be it be *Jesus* in them that I persecute.) And it was his great grief (and I must look to it, that it prove not to be mine) that he persecuted the *Church of God*. And therefore said, who am not worthy to be called an *Apostle*, because I persecute the *Church of God*. Well I will ponder these things, wiser men then I and more zealous, and of better reputation and profession (I see have been mistaken, and why may not I? well, I love the man, no harm shall come unto him.

Such would have been the reasonings of (as hath been said) an ingenious spirit to one who prayed and intreated when he was defamed by thee; abused and persecuted; but alas there came no such moisture from thy flinty heart, but as one Canon proof (as is used to be said) against all Exhortations and love in this kind, the most pathetical and convincing argumentations have no place with thee, but as a man hath hardened his heart against love and reproof, and so must fall without remedy, he and his letter were unworthily rendred in the City; and it was (as was that afore said of *George Bishops*) put into the hand of another, who had been their very great enemy, and much was spoken of the *Letters*, which caused great inquiries after the letters by some of their friends

friends to see what was in *them*, because *they* were *so* rendered, which therefore are *now* made publick; that *all* that please may see *their* contents (as it also concerns the *relation* to take notice of *them*, and let the *sober* in heart who have heard thereof, and do *now* read, judge (as hath been said) whether *they* were worthy of such report as was made of *them*; And whether the *spirit* of *sobernesse* and *truth* did not write *them*, and whether *they* deserved that which *they* received at *thy* hands. But to proceed.

Having lodg'd the persons above named in the place of suffering, and took *them* from *their* callings and occasions which *thou* knewest was not a *little* in the *outward* (as hath been said) and placed *them* among, and as transgressors for *their* consciences (for otherwise then as to the *law* of *their* God *thou* haddest nothing against *them*) and so put *them* into a capacity of *thy* farther mischief, who *thus* hadst reached *them* (as *thou* thoughtst) who *never* did thee wrong, nor suffered'st *thou* by *them* at any time, *thou* didst mind in *thy* self how *thou* mightest do *them* farther harm; and accomplish *thine* own design upon *them*, which *thou* haddest *thus* began in *their* ruine.

To this purpose, because the *sessions* was now drawing on, least *thou* shouldest be left in the *lurch*, and *thine* own hands faile *thee*, who hadst put *thy* self (upon what *necessity* or *ground*, if any let *sober* men judge) on *their* fall or *thine*, and so be laught at, the *necessity* of which (as hath been said) *thou* puttest *thy* self upon, or madest it a *necessity* to *thy* self, when no other thing did, for the *new* Act said, *it should be lawful*, but did not *so* much as require thee to put it in *execution*, and the *Oath* of *Alegiance* was made for *Papists*, and that for *Conventicles* was old, and a doubt amongst the *learned* in the *Law*, whether in *force* or *not*, and
the

the *common* Law took *no* notice of *religious* meetings, or *religion*, but the *breach* of the *peace* by *some* overt or manifest act, or deed by *force* and *armes*, or *words* spoken to that *purpose*, so thou madest it (as hath been said again and again) of *necessity*, which was not *so* in it self, and for this purpose *thou* diddest consider with *thy* self how *thou* should have been fit to answer *thy* end to passe upon *them*; and because the *City* was *large*, and the *prisoners* had *relations* and *dealings* therein, and were well known in the *City*, least *such* a *grand Jury* should be chosen, as might cast out the *Bill*, and so blast *thine* enterprize in the *bud*, *thou* art said to get the *book* of the *Burgesse*s into *thy* custody, and to *pick* out a *grand Jury* *thy* self, which was not *thine*, but the *office* of the *Sheriff*; and it *ill* becomed a *Judge* to be a *prosecutor*; and the *Jury* should be indifferently taken, as *they* lay in the *neighbourhood*, and not *pickt* out on *purpose* against the *prisoner*; moreover it being *matter* of *conscience*; It should be of *men* that are able to *judge* of *conscience*, for how can men be *Judges* of actions done from that which *they* do not understand; so a *Jury* (it seems) *thou* did get, and the *men* out of *those* that were summoned to appear, for the *grand Jury* pitched upon by *thee*, were *Daniel Adams* foreman (a *new* made Captain of the *Militia*, and a *man* concerned with *thee*, as a party *whose* souldiers brought the *first* prisoners from our peaceable meetings, kept them on the *guard* (without a *warrant*) and brought them to *Bridewell* aforesaid; *George Gibbs* (an *inveterate* man against them, and sometimes a *Lieutenant* of the *Militia*, that had been to force *our* meetings *formerly*, from which *his* souldiers brought away *then* divers, and some of *them* *then*, that were *now* to be tried; and so he was of the *same* spirit, and might well be reckoned as a *party*, or a *man* that ought not

to have been chosen to pass upon them) William Jaine, Christopher Brunsden, Nathaniel King, Simon Bowyer, Thomas Prestwood, Samuel Wedlack, Thomas Smalt (Captain Lieutenant to the Colonel of the Militia Regiment, another of the same, of whose drowigious Barbarisme, exercised a little before to some of us on the guard, will be mentioned by and by) William Haman, John Thruston, Thomas Wells, Thomas Stratton, Thomas Edwards, Matthew Stephens, Abraham Barnes, Richard Clifford, Samuel Dobbins, and Matthew Rogers.

These on the day of the Sessions, viz. the 12th of 11th moneth, 1663. were called and sworn, and a charge was given them, and the Bills against the prisoners, which they quickly found; and now thou didst set thy self as one determined to trie for the Mastery over a people that did neither wrong nor resist thee; and thy weapons were thus prepared ready for thy hands, and so thou didst cause the Court to be adjourned, and gavest order for the prisoners to be brought in the afternoon, and then thou didst arise to Eat and to Drink.

Multitudes were the people that in the afternoon were gathered to the Hall, and the street in the which it was, to see the issue of this great, and (before) never known day in Bristol, wherein men for their Conscience only to God, knowing men, understanding men, substantial men, able men, men peaceable, of good repute, of good desert, of good conversation, of good example, were thus ordered to be brought before the Judgment seat of thee John Knight, to the rendering of the City, and the hearts of the sober therein, to see Citizens set against Citizens, to destroy their fellow Citizens, and to seek their ruine, and for no other cause, but their Conscience to God, and that in relation to his Worship,

ship, when as *wickedness* passed without controul, and met with *no* reproof in the gate, *this* was indeed a day of *sadness* to *such*, a day of *darkness*, and *blackness*, and of *gross* darkness; especially to see *thee* in the head of it, *working* it, *contriving* it, *soliciting* it, *prosecuting* it, making it *thy* business to effect it, putting *thy* fall or rise (as it were) upon the accomplishing or not, of what *thou* wast about, who wast *Major* of the *City* then, and shouldst have done otherwise, and *mens* Expectations were on *tiptoe* to see the issue.

So between the *second* and *third* hours in the afternoon, the *Prisoners* were brought as *thy* Triumphs, and at *thy* Chariots wheels (as we may say) were dragged, who (unless thus bound, when *they* did not resist) *thou* didst never overcome; the streets were filled, and so thronged at the door of the *Hall*, that the *Prisoners* could not get in, but in the street, and about the door were forced to stay in the wet and cold (vvho were somewhat in an *ill* capacity to bear it, having been before *some* of them so long in *Prison*) till *thou* camest (which was about the *fourth* hour) from *thy* feast, where *thou* hadst the *Bishop* and the *Dean*, and other of the *Clergy* to replenish *thee*; and so being fully fraught with *mischief* and *envie*, and prepared (as *thou* thoughtst) for *thy* work, and in some kind of certainty in *thy* self, that *thou* shouldst accomplish, *thou* mountedst *thy* Throne, and *thy* brethren fate by *thee*, and the *Candles* being lighted in affectation of the *Grand Assizes* when *Witches* are to be tryed, thereby to draw the more the wonderment of the *people*, *thou* didst cause an *O Yes* to be made, and required silence to be kept (which *thou* mightest have forborn, for the people in the *Hall* being willing to hear, did of themselves) and some of the *Prisoners* being set to the Ear, viz. *Thomas Speed*, *Charles*

Jones, and William Taylor, who were in one Bill put together, an Indictment was read unto them at the Common Law, charging them with being at an Unlawful Assembly, under the pretence and colour of Religion, on such a day, with force and Arms and to the Terror of the people, &c.

To which they pleaded Not guilty before the Jury, which were Thomas Walter, Foreman, (who was Lieutenant to Capt. Adams aforesaid, who had the command of the Guard, when some of the Prisoners were had from meeting thither, and in person with a guard without a Warrant, conducted them to Bridewel, as hath been said) Thomas Ballard, Richard Luckett, Samuel Lloyd, John Tomgood (waterbayliff one of thy officers Prebend Tomgoods Son) a bitter enemy of theirs, and a man so invenomed and prepared before-hand to make them suffer, that when G. Bishop was committed, being in the lower Tolzey, as he came down out of the Council house, he said behind his back, after he was passe him, in the audience of the people, which were many, That he hoped to see him hanged (who never did him wrong) for which the people reproved him, and when the Sessions drew near, he was so replenished (having been, as he said, with thee, and coming then from thee) that he could not contain himself, but alowd in the Kitching of the new prison, and in the presence of some, and hearing of other the prisoners in their Chamber overhead, vented himself after this manner, viz. That he had been with the Major, and that he came from him then, and that the Major had spoken to him to be one of their Godfathers, (viz. the Prisoners) and that he would warrant he would do their work for them on Tuesday next, which was the day, or words to that purpose; and now (it seems) was made one of them. But William Willett, a moderate man, was refused by thee, though called and present; all which shewed what thou intendedst

to do, and how thou wast a party in *this* matter, for which thou wilt receive thy reward from the hand of the Lord. James Millard, William Hartford, John Clarke the younger, William Holmes, Thomas Lewis, John Tizon, and Thomas Standfast, whose father was then a *Prebend*.

Having pleaded *Not Guilty*, as aforesaid, and sworn, the *Witnesses* were produced, which were some of the *false sworn* men aforesaid, in the case of *Miles Dixon* at the time of *their* commitment, and there was no other, viz. *Lodowick Poole*, and *Sloper* both *Serjeants* to the Militia, and parties who without a *warrant*, with force and arms took them from their peaceable meeting, and *Tho. Speed* from the door of the *meeting house*, at which in the street he was quietly sitting, which men passed with thee as *goodevidence*; some of these being sworn anew, spake what they pleased. The *Council* pleaded against the *commitment*, because it was without a *warrant* (which the *witnesses* confessed they had not) and so not according to *due* course of *Law*, which was to have been by *Civil* officers, and not by *military*, in time of *peace*, without a *warrant*, and this the *Council* made out, whereby all their work in troubling meetings that were quiet, was overthrown, which is something for thee and them to remember.

The *Prisoners* confessed two of them, that they were in the *meeting house*, and the other that he was at the door of the *Meeting house*, in the street, sitting quietly, having not been in the *Meeting house*, for out of it he and others were kept as aforesaid, and they witnessed a good *Confession*, as he did then before *Pontius Pilate* that is gone before, and acknowledged the matter, and spake of the ground upon which they did it. And one of them, viz. *Tho. Speed*, delivered it to the *Jury* in these, or words to this purpose, To you that are our

Neighbours and fellow Citizens of the *Jury*, I have a few words to offer; we might justly except against some of you, as men unfit to pass upon our liberties or estates, and particularly against thee *John Towgood*, vvho didst lately speak things touching us, not fit to be named in this Court; but we freely forgive thee, and desire the Lord to forgive thee also, to whom we commit our selves and our cause: That we were at a meeting in *Broad-mead*, the place expressed in our Indictment, we may not deny, but do confesse, being there in the fear of the Lord (and in good will towards all men; in good will to the King (against whom we are accused to be trespassers) to vvhom from our hearts we vvish this happiness, That he may so reign and rule in the fear of God, that he may live in his favour, and die in his peace, and may have a habitation with him when time shall be no more. You have families, relations, and estates, we have families, relations; and estates, vveigh well (out of all prejudice) and consider what you are now about to do as touching us. Suppose with your selves that the verdict you are now going about to consult of, may be the last that ever you may give in, in this world, and that when you have brought in your Verdict on us, you your selves should immediately appear before the high Tribunal of the God of Heaven; go therefore and do that wherein you may have peace with your maker, when you shall go hence and be seen no more. And so said it on the Consciences of the *Jury*, whether that were any breach of the peace; nor indeed was there any proof that the peace was broken on their part (nor was it) or that their being there was vvith force and arms, or to the terror of the people; but the force and arms was on the other part, who by force and arms, contrary to law, had (to the Terror of many that were not of us) thus taken them away.

Hereupon

Hereupon the *Jury*, after *some* time, brought in *their* verdict, *not guilty of force and arms, and to the terrour of the people,* but *guilty of an unlawful assembly*, with which thou being not satisfied, they withdrew again, and thus delivered *themselves*, *Not guilty according to the Inditement.*

✓ This gave *so* great a satisfaction to the *Hall*, and the *generality* of the *people* that were therein, (which was *very* many) that *some* manifestation thereof was given, the *people* then present being glad in *their* hearts, that innocent *men*, and such as *these* were, and *those* unto whom they appertained, were not found *guiltie*; and that the *City* thereby *so* far was unconcerned in a verdict against them, it being to their great grief and *consternation of spirit*, that such men for *their* Consciences should be *thus* put upon the *wrack*, and sought to be destroyed; but *this* their joy and *gladness of spirit* vexed *thee* to the *very* heart, that thou wast *so* baffled, which thou couldst not forbear to manifest, and *so* to prove undeniably *thy* self what hath been *here* asserted, viz. that *thou* *designedly soughtst their suffering*, for upon the general shew that past the *Hall* upon the *publication* of the verdict, as aforesaid, *thou*, as a man sensible of *thy* disappointment, in that which *thou* hadst *so* designed, and laboured to accomplish, couldst not contain thy self, such was the over-ruling hand of the *Almighty*, for *his* truth and *his* people, that in *vehement* passion, as a man concerned in the *contrary*, and *so* didst appear as an *unjust* Judge, which sought the *suffering* of the *Prisoners*, and was not indifferent, which a *righteous* Judge ought to be, and rather inclining (which the *law* doth) to the acquitment, than to the suffering of the *Prisoners*, laidst *thou* couldst not endure to sit there and see *thy* *Sovereigns* *Laws* trampled under foot, or words to that purpose, who didst trample thy *Sovereigns* laws under foot, in seeking to make them to suffer, who
by

by *thy* Sovereigns laws were acquitted, and so *didst* demand of *them*, whether they would take the oath of allegiance? which *thou* before toldest *them* thou wouldst do, if the Jury did acquit them: but in *this* thou wast disappointed also, for the rest of the *Justices* would not yield to it, as judging it a *thing* unreasonable, then to put the Oath to *them*, when they were cleared of what they stood indited by *their* Countrey.

This dissatisfied the *Hall* exceedingly, to see *thee* sitting on the *Bench* as Judge, to act so contrary to *Justice*, for *thou* shouldst rather have shewn *thy* self as glad of *their* liberty, the *law* acquitting *them*, (hadst *thou* been unconcerned) than to have manifested *thy* desire to have had *them* to suffer: and hadst *thou* been a wise man in *thy* generation, *thou* wouldst have so done, But oh the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his wayes past finding out! he knew *thy* heart, and therefore would not suffer *thy* fig-leaves to cover *thee*, but brought *thee* forth stark naked to the world's view in *thy* *Wolfs* dresse, and then stop'd *thee* in *thy* course, so that *thou* couldst not neither prevail in *this* of the oath; yet their liberty *thou* didst detain, who should have been acquitted, and to the next day adjournedst *them*, yet neither *then*, nor to *this* day, suffered *he* *thee* to have what *thou* wouldst upon *them*, who bore Testimony to *his* name, for which we glorifie *his* name for ever.

Thus passed the proceedings of the first day, the next day being the 13th of the 11th month, George Bishop, Edward Pyot, John Gibbons, Nehemiah Pool, George Oliver, Thomas Morris, James Sterridge, Benjamin Cottle, and John Spoor, were set to the Bar, and an Inditement of the same nature exhibited against them before the Jury, who were Richard Codrington (foreman) Francis Little, John Clark the elder, William
Loop,

*Loop, Hump. Barecroft, Walter Payne, Thomas Wright, Peter
 Rosewell, John Collins, (Dep. Marthall) John Bradford, Ro-
 ger Willoughby, and Rich. Legg; and they were demanded to
 answer guiltie or not guiltie? to which they pleaded not guilt-
 ty of the Inditement, in manner and form as was therein ex-
 pressed, which their plea being entred, the Town Clerk asked
 them, whether they would proceed to Tryal now, or traverse it?
 they answered, presently, if they pleased; so the witnesses
 were called, to prove them at the meeting, and thou calledst
 for the Depositions that were taken at their commitment, as
 if thou wouldst have had them read, the Prisoners said, that
 there must be nothing produced in Court but viva voce, by
 word of mouth; the Town Clark said to thee, it was so; where-
 upon the reading of them was forborn: the witnesses then
 being called upon to be sworn, the prisoners desired that it
 might be a little laid aside, because they had somewhat to say
 which happily might save them some labour, and so they began
 and said, and confessed that they were at the meeting in Broad
 mead, and upon the day mentioned in the Inditement, and
 that they were there to wait upon the Lord, and in obedience
 to him, and to testifie to his sovereignty over the Consciences of
 men, as to worship, who was Lord of all, and soveraign in the
 conscience, who was a spirit, and would be worshipped in spirit
 and in truth; not at Jerusalem, nor in this mountain, as Christ
 said to the woman of Samaria, and that such the Father sought
 to worship him, whose fear towards him is not to be taught by
 the precepts of men; and so began to shew, and would have
 done, from the three childrens time, and so throughout all
 Histories to this day, how that there were a people that bow-
 ed not to the worships of the times, but gave testimony unto,
 and sealed with their blood, the dominion that is everlasting
 in the Conscience, and the sovereignty of him there who is
 Lord.*

Lord of all, against the laws of *men*, that sought to infringe, and did usurp upon *his* dominion in the *conscience*, who lives for ever, and would have given *reason* and undeniable demonstration for this, and have made it out, but *thou* interruptedst *them*, and wouldst not suffer *them* to speak, but with *much* vehemency didst cry out, that *thou* couldst not endure to sit there and hear a Religion instilled into the Court, a Religion contrary to the laws of the Kingdomes; and that the laws of England were the *supreme Conscience* of England, and suffered *them* not to speak further as to this ground or reason of *their* so being there, though the attention of the Hall was very great and in deep silence, though very full, being willing to hear that great point opened, viz. the *soveraignty of God* in the *conscience*, as to *worship*, which was so near to *them* all, for *conscience* is in every man, and every man would worship *God* according to *his* Conscience, and would not have it dealt withall, nor *thou thy* self (to the witnesse of *God* in *thee* we speak) as *thou* didst to *them*. This being the matter so much in controversie onely, *they* had so much liberty further to speak, and to shew that *their* meeting was not in contempt of the *lawes*, or with *force* and *arms*, to the *Terrour* of the *people*, it being a *thing* contrary to *their* principle and practice.

So the *witneses* were sworn and examined, who testified, that *they* were at the meeting at *such* a place, and at *such* a time, but as to *force* and *armes*, &c. proved *nothing*, for though thy Sergeant *Jones* would needs have argued the *matter* (being put upon it by *thee* in the Court, and no doubt had before received from *thee* *his* instruction) and *thus* would have brought it about, viz. that it was a *Terrour* to him to see the *Kings* laws broken, and *he* thought, it being so with him, that it could not but be *so* to every good subject, or words to
this

this purpose, which signified nothing, for it was *pleading*, and so *he* was told that *he* *pleaded*, and so *his* testimony in that particular signified not, for thereby he shewed himself a *party* and not a *witness*, who ought to be a person in *his* Testimony leaning to *neither* side, but declaring the certain truth in *certain* words, and not by *argumentation*, and so to leave it to the Court.

And though *thou* endeavouredst to make something of the *Testimony* that was against one *Samuel James*, who coming up the *stairs* at the time when *thy* Sergeant *Jones* aforesaid, and and the *Musqueteers* were at the *meeting* aforesaid, and being presently commanded down, and *he* not in the *very* minute observing it, but looking about him, being somewhat agast at that *unusual* company, was endeavoured to be knocked down, the *stairs*, so *musquets* being about *his* ears, and *many* men upon *him*, and *he* not knowing what *they* meant to do with *him*, it seems, as the *witnesse* swore, *he* laid hands on one of the *souldiers* sword in the *scabbard*, and endeavoured to draw it, which *thou* wouldst have converted as an *act* of *theirs*, and so wouldst have had it to bear the interpretation of a *Riot*, which, *no doubt*, was the reason why *thou* causedst them to be indicted on *that* dayes meeting, and not on *that* in the *street*, at which *they* were taken when last committed. But *this* proved not to *thy* purpose, (for unawares its like in *thee*, but otherwise in the ordering of the *Lord*) *thou* droppedst this word when the matter was in *Examination*, speaking of *James*, and what he was, a *Ranter*, saidst *thou*, which was observed afterwards by the Prisoners to the *Jury*, besides, it could not bear *such* an interpretation in *Reason* or *Equity*, that a *mans* action (and what the *action* was hath been said) in a *publick* meeting, where none are kept out who was none of the *people* which usually there met, should be attributed to be the *Action* of that people, whose principle

ple and *practice* is contrary to to *that* action, and who owned it not, nor abetted it, and it being transient, not between *those* people and *him*, or *he* and those people with the officers, but between the officers and him, and that chiefly down the *stairs*, and in a *lower* room, where (they say) the sword was endeavoured to be drawn by him, not in the place where *those* people were met.

But this strained interpretation would serve for little else than to shew how eager thou wast, and industrious to find something that indeed might have a reflection upon *them*, so the matters being turned up and down, and many things being spoken, the *Jury* came at length to be addressed unto, to whom the prisoners summed up the Evidence, and repeated how that nothing of *force* and arms was proved against them, (for there was indeed none) and how that that of *James* had no other reflection, nor could have, but as between himself and the officers, the Mayor *himself* (as was said to them) telling *them* that *he* was a *Ranter*, and so none of those people, and how that *their* having been at the *meeting*, they had confessed, and upon what ground, viz, that it was in obedience to the Lord, and not in contempt to *them*; or to the *Law*, moreover, that *they* had considered of the *matter*, and if any thing on *this* side *their* peace with the Lord would have done it, *they* had not been at that which was the occasion of *their* being *thus* brought thither, that the *son* of *God* was the *sovereign* of the *Conscience*, and the *worship* of the *Father* was in *spirit* and *truth*, and *his* fear was not to be taught by the *precepts* of *men*, but here *thou* interruptedst *him* that spake, which was *G. B.* of that any further, but *he*, turning to the *Jury*, said to them, *Neighbours and Friends, we have nothing now to do with these*, and so turned *his* hand to the *Court*, and to you I shall speak; you have *Consciences of your own*, according unto which you would worship
God,

God, and you would not take it well if some such thing as hath been done, and is now doing to us, should be done to you, for worshipping God according to your Conscience. Now what saith the Judge of all, whatsoever yee would that men should do unto you, do even the same unto them, for this is the law and the Prophets. And so I shall leave you. Edward Pyot also spake to the Jury, and said, you by the Court are made our Judges, and the matter of fact, for which we are called in question this day is nothing criminal, nor any matter of dishonesty, but onely for our meeting together in the worship and service of God, and nothing more than barely meeting together is proved against us, to which our selves have confessed before proof vvas made, and as our meeting together in such manner, and to such ends as is declared in the Inditement, hath been by us denied, so it is altogether without proof to you that which you are chiefly to consider of in order to your verdict, is, whether or not we were met together in manner and form according as is declared in the Inditement. As to the manner of our meeting, it was not with force and armes, as you your selves in your own consciences know, but we meet together in the fear of the Lord, and to no other end than onely in Gods Worship and Service; and therefore take heed what you do; lest you be found striving against the Lord; for God vwill be worshipped and served as himself pleaseth, and by his own direction and prescription, in spirit and in truth, and not as man pleaseth, nor by mens prescriptions and directions; for things may be highly esteemed amongst men, which are abomination in the sight of God, and it is not in the power of any Creature to prescribe to his maker how his maker shall be served and worshipped.

It is enough for the greatest of men to prescribe their own

Homage, and to direct *their* own service, and to leave that which concerns the *worship* and service of *God*, unto *God* himself, and to his own prescription and *direction*, who alone is *Law-giver* to all, and the *Judge* over all, in all the matters and things which concerns *his* own vvorship and service, and vvhom *we* chuse to obey rather then *men*. Here thou rosest from *thy* seat in great rage, and gavest an *interruption*, but when the *Court* vvas quiet and *cool*, again *he* spake on, and said, And forasmuch as it is *oft-times* proposed in *Courts* of *Judicature*, to the *prisoners* at Bar, to be tryed by *God* and *the Country*, in vvhich vvords it is acknowledged that *God* is the supreme Judge, and that the *Verdict* and Sentence ought to be of the *Lord*; mind the *Lord* therefore, and *his* presence vvith *you*, and Council to guide *you*, that the *Lord* may judge among *you*, that so your *verdict* concerning *us*, may be of the *Lord*; to vvhich some of the *Jury* answered, *That they would do us right*: and there vvas a sence in many of *them*, which thou couldest not take off, though *thou* endeavouredst it, and madest a long narration of the *penal* Laws against vvhat vvas called *Conventicles*, and the not coming to *Church*; and vvhat fine it vvas to have *Maß* said in a *mans* house (vvhich related to *Papists*, and not to them) and what vvas in *thy* head came forth, but not a *word* to the *purpose*. The Steward also, *viz.* *John Robbins*, kept a great adoe, and turned over the *Statute* book, which to consider (it seems) *he* had been up (as is said) till about three in the morning, that *he* might be ready to assist *thee* according to vvhat is said, *he* said to *thee* the night before, that *he* vvould, but it signified nothing. It vvas not to the *point* in hand, for *they* were indicted at the *Common Law*; and *thou* and *thy* Council kept adoe about the *Statute*; and vvhat's *this* to the purpose, said one of the *Prisoners*? And neither *thou* nor he

he so much as shewed the *Jury* vvhat vvvas an *unlawful* meeting at *Common Law*. See how *you* were blinded, and what hand vvvas upon *you*. And the *Steward* most unworthy of his Master the *King*, as whose Council *he* appeared, made a great Oration, how that *we* and *our* meetings were that which did shake his Crown, and that the *King* vvvas afraid of *us*, and that *he* had been in the *west*, and what *he* had heard there, *he* told on purpose to incense the *Jury*, but *all* vvould not do, the *Jury* had another thing in their Consciences and matter of Law, not *stories*, was that vvvhich *they* vvvere to Hearken, to especially *such* large Expressions, vvvhich rendred the *King* and his Crown so vvweak, and his Government so tottering, that the meetings of a few people (in Comparison to *England*) to vvwait upon the *Lord*, who used not Arms, nor resisted, and who were in good will to *him*, did shake *it*, and make him afraid, but this is not *all* the unworthiness *he* then used to the prisoners also of which *he* was was well told, but now is pretermitted.

The *Jury* being to vvithdraw, the prisoners moved for a special verdict in these vvords, viz. That the matter of fact might be found specially, according to vvhat the Witnesses had spoken, and that might be left upon the whole matter to the determination of Law, vvwhether it amount to the making good of the Indictment, vvvhich *thou* opposedst, for *thou* fearedst the sequel, vvvhich vvvas, that *thou* shouldest not then have whereupon to pass Sentence upon *them*.

So the *Jury* vvithdrew, and after some time, delivered their verdict; and the foreman said a special verdict, and it was this, Guilty of being at an unlawful Assembly, according to the Law of the Land, but not of force and Arms, or to the terror of the people. The prisoners demanded the record of this to be read; the record being read, it appeared that
but

Neighbours and fellow Citizens of the Jury, I have a few words to offer; we might justly except against some of you, as men unfit to pass upon our liberties or estates, and particularly against thee John Tomgood, vvho didst lately speak things touching us, not fit to be named in this Court; but we freely forgive thee, and desire the Lord to forgive thee also, to whom we commit our selves and our cause: That we were at a meeting in Broad-mead, the place expressed in our Indictment, we may not deny, but do confesse, being there in the fear of the Lord (and in good will towards all men; in good will to the King (against whom we are accused to be trespassers) to vvhom from our hearts we vvish this happiness, That he may so reign and rule in the fear of God, that he may live in his favour, and die in his peace, and may have a habitation with him when time shall be no more. You have families, relations, and estates, we have families, relations, and estates, vveigh well (out of all prejudice) and consider what you are now about to do as touching us. Suppose with your selves that the verdict you are now going about to consult of, may be the last that ever you may give in, in this world, and that when you have brought in your Verdict on us, you your selves should immediately appear before the high Tribunal of the God of Heaven; go therefore and do that wherein you may have peace with your maker, when you shall go hence and be seen no more. And so said it on the Consciences of the Jury, whether that were any breach of the peace; nor indeed was there any proof that the peace was broken on their part (nor was it) or that their being there was vvith force and arms, or to the terror of the people; but the force and arms was on the other part, who by force and arms, contrary to law, had (to the Terror of many that were not of us) thus taken them away.

Hereupon

Hereupon the *Jury*, after *some* time, brought in *their* verdict, *not guilty of force and arms, and to the terrour of the people,* but *guilty of an unlawful assembly*, with which thou being not satisfied, they withdrew again, and thus delivered *themselves*, *Not guilty according to the Inditement.*

This gave *so* great a satisfaction to the *Hall*, and the *generality* of the *people* that were therein, (which was *very* many) that *some* manifestation thereof was given, the *people* then present being glad in *their* hearts, that innocent *men*, and such as *these* were, and *those* unto whom they appertained, were not found *guiltie*; and that the *City* thereby *so* far was unconcerned in a verdict against them, it being to their *great* grief and *consternation* of *spirit*, that such men for *their* Consciences should be *thus* put upon the *wrack*, and sought to be destroyed; but *this* their joy and *gladness* of *spirit* vexed *thee* to the *very* heart, that thou wast *so* baffled, which thou couldst not forbear to manifest, and *so* to prove undeniably *thy* self what hath been *here* asserted, viz. that *thou* *designedly* soughtst *their* suffering, for upon the general shew that past the *Hall* upon the *publication* of the verdict, as aforesaid, *thou*, as a man sensible of *thy* disappointment, in that which *thou* hadst *so* designed, and laboured to accomplish, couldst not contain *thy* self, such was the over-ruling hand of the *Almighty*, for *his* truth and *his* people, that in *vehement* passion, as a *man* concerned in the *contrary*, and *so* didst appear as an *unjust* Judge, which sought the *suffering* of the *Prisoners*, and was not indifferent, which a *righteous* Judge ought to be, and rather inclining (which the *law* doth) to the acquitment, than to the suffering of the *Prisoners*, saidst *thou* couldst not endure to sit there and see *thy* *Sovereigns* *Laws* trampled under foot, or words to that purpose, who didst trample *thy* *Sovereigns* laws under foot, in seeking to make them to suffer, who
by

by *thy* Sovereigns *laws* were acquitted, and so *didst* demand of *them*, whether they would take the oath of allegiance? which *thou* before toldest *them* thou wouldst do, if the Jury did acquit them: but in *this* thou wast disappointed also, for the rest of the *Justices* would not yield to it, as judging it a *thing* unreasonable, then to put the *Oath* to *them*, when they vvere cleared of vvhat they stood indited by *their* Countrey.

This dissatisfied the *Hall* exceedingly, to see *thee* sitting on the *Bench* as Judge, to act so contrary to *Justice*, for *thou* shouldst rather have shewn *thy* self as glad of *their* liberty, the *law* acquitting *them*, (hadst *thou* been unconcerned) than to have manifested *thy* desire to have had *them* to suffer: and hadst *thou* been a *wise* man in *thy* generation, *thou* wouldst have so done, But oh the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his wayes past finding out! he knew *thy* heart, and therefore would not suffer *thy* fig-leaves to cover *thee*, but brought *thee* forth stark naked to the worlds view in *thy* *Wolfs* dresse, and then stop'd *thee* in *thy* course, so that *thou* couldst not neither prevail in *this* of the oath; yet their liberty *thou* didst detain, who should have been acquitted, and to the next day adjournedst *them*, yet neither *then*, nor to *this* day, suffered he *thee* to have what *thou* wouldst upon *them*, who bore Testimony to *his* name, for which we glorifie *his* name for ever.

Thus passed the proceedings of the first day, the next day being the 13th of the 11th month, George Bishop, Edward Pyot, John Gibbons, Nehemiah Pool, George Oliver, Thomas Morris, James Sterridge, Benjamin Cottle, and John Spoor, were set to the Bar, and an Inditement of the same nature exhibited against them before the Jury, who were Richard Codrington (foreman) Francis Little, John Clark the elder, William

Loop,

Loop, Hump. Barecroft, Walter Payne, Thomas Wright, Peter Rosewell, John Collins, (Dep. Marshall) John Bradford, Roger Willoughby, and Rich. Legg; and they were demanded to answer guiltie or not guiltie? to which they pleaded not guilty of the Inditement, in manner and form as was therein expressed, which their plea being entred, the Town Clerk asked them, whether they would proceed to Tryal now, or traverse it? they answered, presently, if they pleased; so the witnesses were called, to prove them at the meeting, and thou calledst for the Depositions that were taken at their commitment, as if thou wouldst have had them read, the Prisoners said, that there must be nothing produced in Court but viva voce, by word of mouth; the Town Clerk said to thee, it was so; whereupon the reading of them was forborn: the witnesses then being called upon to be sworn, the prisoners desired that it might be a little laid aside, because they had somewhat to say which happily might save them some labour, and so they began and said, and confessed that they were at the meeting in Broad mead, and upon the day mentioned in the Inditement, and that they were there to wait upon the Lord, and in obedience to him, and to testifie to his severignty over the Consciences of men, as to worship, who was Lord of all, and soveraign in the conscience, who was a spirit, and would be worshipped in spirit and in truth; not at Jerusalem, nor in this mountain, as Christ said to the woman of Samaria, and that such the Father sought to worship him, whose fear towards him is not to be taught by the precepts of men; and so began to shew, and would have done, from the three childrens time, and so throughout all Histories to this day, how that there were a people that bowed not to the worships of the times, but gave testimony unto, and sealed with their blood, the dominion that is everlasting in the Conscience, and the soverainty of him there who is
Lord

Lord of all, against the laws of *men*, that sought to infringe, and did usurp upon *his* dominion in the *conscience*, who lives for ever, and would have given *reason* and undeniable demonstration for this, and have made it out, but *thou* interruptedst *them*, and wouldst not suffer *them* to speak, but with *much* vehemency didst cry out, *that thou couldst not endure to sit there and hear a Religion instilled into the Court, a Religion contrary to the laws of the Kingdome; and that the laws of England were the Supreme Conscience of England, and suffered them not to speak further as to this ground or reason of their so being there, though the attention of the Hall was very great and in deep silence, though very full, being willing to hear that great point opened, viz. the sovereignty of God in the conscience, as to worship, which was so near to them all, for conscience is in every man, and every man would worship God according to his Conscience, and would not have it dealt withall, nor thou thy self (to the witnesse of God in thee we speak) as thou didst to them.* This being the matter so much in controversie onely, *they* had so much liberty further to speak, and to shew that *their* meeting was not in contempt of the *lawes*, or with *force* and *arms*, to the *Terrour* of the *people*, it being a *thing* contrary to *their* principle and practice.

So the *witneses* were sworn and examined, who testified, that *they* were at the meeting at *such* a place, and at *such* a time, but as to *force* and *armes*, &c. proved *nothing*, for though thy Sergeant *Jones* would needs have argued the *matter* (being put upon it by *thee* in the *Court*, and no doubt had before received from *thee* his instruction) and *thus* would have brought it about, *viz.* that it was a *Terrour* to him to see the *Kings* laws broken, and *he* thought, it being so with him, that it could not but be *so* to every good subject, or words to

this

this purpose, which signified nothing, for it was *pleading*, and so *he* was told that *he* *pleaded*, and so *his* testimony in that particular signified not, for thereby he shewed himself a *party* and not a *witnes*s, who ought to be a person in *his* Testimony leaning to *neither* side, but declaring the certain truth in *certain* words, and not by *argumentation*, and so to leave it to the Court.

And though *thou* endeavouredst to make something of the *Testimony* that was against one *Samuel James*, who coming up the *stairs* at the time when *thy* Sergeant *Jones* aforesaid, and and the *Musqueteers* were at the *meeting* aforesaid, and being presently commanded down, and *he* not in the *very* minute observing it, but looking about him, being somewhat agast at that *unusual* company, was endeavoured to be knocked down, the *stairs*, so *musquets* being about *his* ears, and *many* men upon *him*, and *he* not knowing what *they* meant to do with *him*, it seems, as the *witnesse* swore, *he* laid hands on one of the *souldiers* sword in the *scabbard*, and endeavoured to draw it, which thou wouldst have converted as an *act* of *theirs*, and so wouldst have had it to bear the interpretation of a *Riot*, which, *no doubt*, was the reason why *thou* causedst them to be indicted on *that* dayes meeting, and not on *that* in the *street*, at which *they* were taken when last committed. But *this* proved not to *thy* purpose, (for unawares its like in *thee*, but otherwise in the ordering of the *Lord*) *thou* droppedst this word when the matter was in *Examination*, speaking of *James*, and what he was, a *Ranter*, saidst *thou*, which was observed afterwards by the Prisoners to the *Jury*, besides, it could not bear *such* an interpretation in *Reason* or *Equity*, that a *mans* action (and what the *action* was hath been said) in a *publick* meeting, where none are kept out who was none of the *people* which usually there met, should be attributed to be the *Action* of that *people*, whose principle

ple and *practice* is contrary to to *that* action, and who owned it not, nor abetted it, and it being transient, not between *those* people and *him*, or *he* and those people with the officers, but between the officers and him, and that chiefly down the *stairs*, and in a *lower* room, where (they say) the sword was endeavoured to be drawn by him, not in the place where *those* people were met.

But this strained interpretation would serve for little else than to shew how eager thou wast, and industrious to find something that indeed might have a reflection upon *them*, so the matters being turned up and down, and many things being spoken, the *Jury* came at length to be addressed unto, to whom the prisoners summed up the Evidence, and repeated how that nothing of *force* and arms was proved against them, (for there was indeed none) and how that that of *James* had no other reflection, nor could have, but as between himself and the officers, the Mayor *himself* (as was said to them) telling *them* that *he* was a *Ranter*, and so none of those people, and how that *their* having been at the *meeting*, they had confessed, and upon what ground, viz, that it was in obedience to the Lord, and not in contempt to *them*; or to the *Law*, moreover, that *they* had considered of the *matter*, and if any thing on *this* side *their* peace with the Lord would have done it, *they* had not been at that which was the occasion of *their* being *thus* brought thither, that the *son* of *God* was the *soveraign* of the *Conscience*, and the *worship* of the *Father* was in *spirit* and *truth*, and *his* fear was not to be taught by the *precepts* of *men*, but here *thou* interruptedst *him* that spake, which was G. B. of that any further, but *he*, turning to the *Jury*, said to them, *Neighbours and Friends, we have nothing now to do with these*, and so turned *his* hand to the *Court*, and to you I shall speak; you have *Consciences of your own*, according unto which you would worship
God,

God, and you would not take it well if some such thing as hath been done, and is now doing to us, should be done to you, for worshipping God according to your Conscience. Now what saith the Judge of all, whatsoever yee would that men should do unto you, do even the same unto them, for this is the law and the Prophets. And so I shall leave you. Edward Pyot also spake to the Jury, and said, you by the Court are made our Judges, and the matter of fact, for which we are called in question this day is nothing criminal, nor any matter of dishonesty, but onely for our meeting together in the worship and service of God, and nothing more than barely meeting together is proved against us, to which our selves have confessed before proof vvas made, and as our meeting together in such manner, and to such ends as is declared in the Inditement, hath been by us denied, so it is altogether without proof to you that which you are chiefly to consider of in order to your verdict, is, whether or not we were met together in manner and form according as is declared in the Inditement. As to the manner of our meeting, it was not with force and armes, as you your selves in your own consciences know, but we meet together in the fear of the Lord, and to no other end than onely in Gods Worship and Service; and therefore take heed what you do; lest you be found striving against the Lord, for God vwill be worshipped and served as himself pleaseth, and by his own direction and prescription, in spirit and in truth, and not as man pleaseth, nor by mens prescriptions and directions; for things may be highly esteemed amongst men, which are abomination in the sight of God, and it is not in the power of any Creature to prescribe to his maker how his maker shall be served and worshipped.

It is enough for the greatest of men to prescribe their own

Homage, and to direct *their* own service, and to leave that which concerns the *worship* and service of *God*, unto *God* himself, and to his own prescription and *direction*, who alone is *Law-giver* to all, and the *Judge* over all, in all the matters and things which concerns *his* own vvorship and service, and vvhom *we* chuse to obey rather then *men*. Here thou rosest from *thy* seat in great rage, and gavest an *interruption*, but when the *Court* vvas *quiet* and *cool*, again *he* spake on, and said, And forasmuch as it is *oft-times* proposed in *Courts* of *Judicature*, to the *prisoners* at Bar, to be tryed by *God* and *the Country*, in vvhich vvords it is acknowledged that *God* is the supreme Judge, and that the *Verdict* and Sentence ought to be of the *Lord*; mind the *Lord* therefore, and *his* presence vvith *you*, and Councel to guide *you*, that the Lord may judge among *you*, that so your *verdict* concerning *us*, may be of the Lord; to vvhich some of the *Jury* answered, *That they would do us right*: and there vvas a sence in many of *them*, which thou couldest not take off, though *thou* endeavouredst it, and madest a long narration of the *penal* Laws against vvhat vvas called *Conventicles*, and the not coming to *Church*; and vvhat fine it vvas to have *Maß* said in a *mans* house (vvhich related to *Papists*, and not to them) and what vvas in *thy* head came forth, but not a *word* to the *purpose*. The Steward also, *viz.* *John Robbins*, kept a *great* adoe, and turned over the *Statute* book, which to consider (it seems) *he* had been up (as is said) till about three in the morning, that *he* might be ready to assist *thee* according to vvhat is said, *he* said to *thee* the night before, that *he* vvould, but it signified nothing. It vvas not to the *point* in hand, for *they* were indicted at the *Common Law*; and *thou* and *thy* Council kept adoe about the *Statute*; and vvhat's *this* to the *purpose*, said one of the *Prisoners*? And neither *thou* nor
he

he so much as shewed the *Jury* vvhat vvvas an *unlawful* meeting at *Common Law*. See how *you* were blinded, and what hand vvvas upon *you*. And the *Steward* most unworthy of *his* Master the *King*, as whose *Council* *he* appeared, made a great Oration, how that *we* and *our* meetings were that which did shake *his* Crown, and that the *King* vvvas afraid of *us*, and that *he* had been in the *west*, and what *he* had heard there, *he* told on purpose to incense the *Jury*, but *all* vvould not do, the *Jury* had another thing in *their* Consciencies and matter of *Law*, not *stories*, was that vvvhich *they* vvvere to Hearken, to especially *such* large Expressions, vvvhich rendred the *King* and *his* Crown so vveak, and his Government so tottering, that the *meetings* of a few people (in Comparison to *England*) to vvwait upon the *Lord*, who used not Arms, nor resisted, and who were in *good will* to *him*, did shake *it*, and make him afraid, but this is not *all* the unworthiness *he* then used to the *prisoners* also of which *he* was was well told, but now is pretermitted.

The *Jury* being to vvithdraw, the *prisoners* moved for a *special* verdict in these vvords, viz. That the matter of fact might be found specially, according to what the *Witnesses* had spoken, and that might be left upon the whole matter to the determination of *Law*, whether it amount to the making good of the *Indictment*, vvvhich *thou* opposedst, for *thou* fearedst the sequel, vvvhich vvvas, that *thou* shouldest not then have whereupou to pass Sentence upon *them*.

So the *Jury* withdrew, and after *some* time, delivered their verdict; and the *foreman* said a *special* verdict, and it was this, *Guilty* of being at an *unlawful Assembly*, according to the law of the Land, but not of force and Arms, or to the terror of the people. The *prisoners* demanded the record of this to be read; the record being read, it appeared that
but

but the *first* half was set down, vvhich *thou* hadst caused (no doubt) so to be, for that served *thy* mind, viz. *Guilty of an unlawful assembly, according to the Law of the Land*. But the other half vvas omitted, as not being to *thy* purpose, but against it, viz. *But not of force and Arms, &c.* The prisoners called to have the *whole* verdict recorded, *thou* vouldst not grant it, and saidst, *they* brought it in as it vvas recorded. But that the prisoner that spake, viz. *G. B.* had drawn the latter out by *questions*, *G. B.* denied it, and affirmed that the *Jury* delivered their verdict as aforesaid, and called to the *fore-man*, to answer vvhether it was not so; the *fore-man* said it was, and so did *one* or *two* more of the *Jury* testifie. The *Steward*, to palliate the matter, would make the latter by consequence, the former being found, that is to say, that it being an *unlawful* assembly, it was by *force* and *armes*; but herein he was mistaken; for *first*, it was a *special* verdict which stated the matter on the *one* hand and the other for to be pleaded at *Law*, whether the evidence made good the *Indictment*, then the *Indictment* was at *Comon Law*, and there is no *unlawful* assembly at *common Law*, but what is by *force* and *arms*. Thirdly, they said that it was not by *force* and *arms*, viz. *Not guilty of force and arms*. Now if *they* had said, *Guilty of an unlawful assembly according to the Law of the Land*, and no more, there had been some colour of the latter, of *force* and *arms*, which the *Steward* would have made by *Consequence*, but they cutting off *force* and *arms* in the latter, without which it could not be an *unlawful* assembly in the former, they made the former of no *force*, and by consequence adjudged, viz. that it was not an *unlawful* assembly, seeing that which *only* could have made it so, they brought them in not *Guilty* of, and so the verdict was a *Contradiction* to it self.

Yet a *great adoe thou* and the *Steward* made about it, but *C. B.* told *ye* both, that *they* must have *no* wrenching the *Juries* verdict, but must have it in *their* own words. And for the consequences he said, it mattered not, and therefore demanded that the *Juries* verdict might be recorded as *they* brought it in, or that *they* might have *pen*, and *ink*, and *paper* given *them*, to write *their* verdict *themselves*, or if none of *these*, that *they* might go in again.

So the *Jury* withdrew again, and staid somewhat long, yet at length came and brought in the same verdict as before.

Now whilest *they* were in the *second* time; *thou* (its like) fearing least *they* should bring in a *through* not guilty, as the *Jurie* the night before did in the case of *Thomas Speed*, &c. who in a *manner* delivered a *verdict* the *first* time; much like to *this*, *thou* tendrest to *Edward Pyot* the *Oath of Allegiance*, that is to say, *thou* having used reflecting words to *him* of what he had been heretofore, *viz.* in armes in the *Citie*, as a *Captain*, and so looking upon him as an *emie*, who was a friend to the *King* and *thee*; Demanded of *him* whether he would take the *Oath of Allegiance*? He replied as to the clearing of *himself*, and how he was in principle and otherwise in *good-will* to the *King* and *them* all, and how *his* practice had been answerable, and that *you* should be as *Fathers* to *Children*, that should not seek the hurt of *them* who were under the *Law*, but *their* preservation rather. And that as to the *thing* demanded of *him*, he was upon another issue, and till he understood *vwhat that* was, and was cleared from *that*, he should not answer: Well saidst *thou*, (shewing what lay rancoring in *thy* brest) as sure as *I* sit here, if the *Jury* bring *ye* in not Guilty, *I* will put it to *you*.

And

And now let *all* that are sober judge in *this* matter, and whether as a *man* most resolvedly concerned in the *ruine* of *us*, right or wrong, *thou* hast not proceeded in *this* whole transaction hitherto, and whether ever in the *Guild-Hall* of *Bristol*, in *this* generation, such *partiality* hath been used, and downright persecution in a *Judge*: And whether *we* are not (as to *men*) hard bestead, when as *for our* Conscience *we* are *thus* hurried up and down from *one* Law to another, from *one* penalty to *another*, if the first will not serve the *turne*, or cannot be accomplished, who stand before the *Judgment* seat of *such* a *Judge*, as hath shewed *himselfe* as *thou*, as afore-said.

But to close up *this* part of this relation, and therein *this* present sitting of the *Sessions*, the *next* day they were had to the Hall again, but not called, but the day after, *viz.* the *15th* of the *11th* moneth they were brought to the Bar, and then *thou* gavest sentence upon *them* as followeth, *viz.* *George Bishop*, *Edward Pyott*, 50 l. *John Gibbons*, and *Nicholas Pool*, 5 li. each. *John Spoor*, *George Oliver*, *James Sterridge*, *Thomas Morris*, *Benj. Cottle* 40 s. apiece, and to continue in Prison till payment, *Thomas Speed*, also *Charles Jones*, and *W. Taylor*, thou committedst to *Newgate*, though cleared by *their* Country, where *thou* keptst them til the *27th* of the *12th* mon. and hast so much of *wrong* imprisonment upon *thy* back, as to *them*, for *thee* to answer.

Now how couldst *thou* in law proceed to fine *George Bishop* *Edward Pyott*, &c. when as the verdict was *special*, before the *Evidence* was stated, and had Council debated whether the *Evidence* amounted to making good the *Indictment*, which it could never do. Therefore *thou* thus carriedst it, who carries *all* things according to *thy* will and *humour*, and yet *thou* cryest up the *Law*, and *thy* Sovereigns *Laws*, when as under
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the cry and pretence of *thy* Sovereigns Laws, *thou* ushers in *thine* own, and servest *thy* pleasure upon *people* that are innocent. But this covering will not hold *thee* long, for the Judges at *Westminster* may come in time to see farther through *thee*, who shortly hereupon saw cause to say (one of the Judges of the *Kings Bench* expressing it) to this purpose, *What? will they have the King to be King of England, and not of Bristol?* And so an Attachment was ordered against *thee* (though *thy* Council *Robbins* said *thou* wast a Member of Parliament) and Alderman *Creswick*, as to the *Affidavits* then read against you, and presented by the Kings Soliciter General, who in his speech set forth, that such things, as by those papers were charged against you, did not only invade the Law, but seek to juttle the King out of his Courts at *Westminster* (of which that was the Chief and Superintendent over other Courts of Judicature, in case of their going without the bounds of Law, as it had cognizance of what applications was made to them) and so consequently (as is said) out of *England*. So that (it seems) for *thee* and Alderman *Chreswicke*, an Attachment was ordered, though *thou* wast a Member of Parliament; and so whilst here *thou* cryest out *thy* Sovereigns Laws, to cover *thy* doings against the *Laws* of *thy* Sovereign, there *they* find cause to proceed against *thee*, as *one* that doth that which tendeth to the unkinging of *thy* Sovereign, and juttling of the King out of *his* Courts at *Westminster*, and so out of *England*. The truth is, *thou* wouldst be Sovereign *thy* self; that is to say, *thou* wouldst fain have *thine own* brittle, peevish, hot, and malicious will, to rule, which when *thou* hast no other shift to excuse, *thou* seekest to place it under the skirt of *thy* Sovereign, but the Lord hath and will find *thee* out, and render unto *thee* according to *thy* deeds.

Thus far proceeded the business of the *sessions*, in reference to our *friends*; in the relation of which, *many* things are omitted which might appear of consequence to be set down, least *this* little manuel should appear a volume. Now *we* shall proceed to speak of *something* that was pretermitted in *point of time*, but not unfit *here* to be brought in, which concerns *Thomas Smart*, one of the *grand Jury* aforesaid, of whom some hint hath been already a little given.

This man being on the Guard, as *Captain Lieutenant* to a Colonel of the *Militia* Regiment, on the 25th of the tenth Moneth, 1663. commonly called *Christmas* day (unknown to his Colonel) caused *three* of our friends servants to be *unmercifully tied neck and heels together*, with *half* hundred *weights* and *musquets* hanging about their necks, in the *bitter* extremity of the *cold* wether, till the *eyes* of *some* of *them* were observed to be drawing out, and *their* faces were growing black, and the *natural spirits* of one of *them* ready to fail, which *some* who were not of the *Guard* coming in and seeing, took upon *them* to cut the *cords* and set *them* at liberty.

The Executioners of *this* inhumane butchery, were *George Witherley* a *Liter* or *Barge* man, and one *John Boone*. These having been abroad that morning, with other musquetiers, saw the *shops* of *some* of *our* friends open (who in *conscience* to *their* Testimony, against such *Popish* observations, could not cause *them* to be kept fast) vvhich caused their rage to arise, and to the *Guard* to bring *Samuel Hollister*, servant and kinsman to *Dennis Hollister*, *William Sawcer*, servant to *Robert Nokes*, and *Richard Mercer*, servant to the *Widow Loverell*.

Samuel Hollister was in his uncles shop vvhhen *Witherley* came, vvho required *him* to shut down the *door* of the shop,
(for

(for the *windows* were down before, and the *door*, they used to go in at and out at) *Samuel* answering that *he* did not use to put it up, and now should not put it down; away *Wittherley* had *him* to the *Guard*, where *Thomas Smart*, and *Henry Joiner* *Marshal* were, who ordered *him* to be tyed neck and heels together, and a half hundred weight (*Smart* ordered two, but it seems but one was hung on) *Wittherley* did it presently, and set *him* so tied upon the stone bench, walking between *him* and *Smart*, and watching least *he* or any should ease the vweight on *his* breast or the bench which hung about *his* neck; and if it happened so to be, either through the *friendlinesi* of any, or *his* own endeavours, to bear it a little on *his* knees, *Wittherley* with a swinge would turne it off again, to the endangering of *his* neck and back, and then tauntingly vvould come and looke in *his* face, and mock *him* saying, *What, you look very chearfully yet.* The space of time of this *his* cruel Execution was neare the length of an hour.

William Sawcer likewise, the said *Wittherley* brought out of *his* Masters shop to the *Guard*, after the *windows* were thrown down, and there *he* and *Boone* tied *him* neck and heels by the order of *Smart*, and the *Marshal*, with a halfe hundred weight, so long, and after such a manner, that his face grew black, and his *natural* spirits began to fail, so that the match being cut by one that was not of the *Guard*, they were constrained to give *him* something to fetch *his* spirits again. The time of *his* suffering thus was about three quarters of an hour.

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by order of the *aforeſaid* perſons tyed *neck* and *beels*, and *two* Muſquets hang'd at *his* neck for the ſpace of *half* an hour, vvvhich vvvas performed by *Boone* aforeſaid, being the *Servant* of *another*, as aforeſaid, vvho vvvas none of *thoſe* people.

This *Tiranical* Act, without *any* Warrant of *thine*, as was produced, ſo reflecting on thy Government, and ſo *ſtarling* the *ſober* people of the *City*, tending alſo to the *difſolution* of Government, had no other reproof from *thee* in publick; that ever we heard of, except that *thou* thoughteſt him a *qualified* and *fit* perſon to be of the *Grand Jury*, to paſs upon *our* friends as aforeſaid.

Before we leave the Militia, we ſhall give *one* taſte of *Captain Hicks* his ſpirit to *his* near and *peaceable* Neighbours; it ſeems the *Deputy Lieutenant*, and *Commiſſioners* of the *Militia* thought fit to *fine* ſome of *our* friends, for not finding arms to the *Guard* (whoſe principle was againſt *arms*, and which *arms* alſo were converted to the diſturbſing of our *meetings*, contrary to *Law*, and the imprifoning of *our* friends) amongſt the reſt, *Thomas Callowhill* was one, who dwelling a little below, on the other ſide of the *high ſtreet*, where *Captain Hicks* kept ſhop, and being ſomewhat of the ſame occupation, *Captain Hicks* with a *Conſtable* came, and though the *Warrant* was not directed to the ſaid *Captain Hicks*, yet with *his* own hands, he took down *ten* pieces of *Manchester* rape worth *15 s.* for *10 s.* fine, and gave it to the *Conſtable*, who carried it to the ſaid *John Hicks* his houſe, not returning the overplus.

Sometime after the ſaid *Thomas Callowhill* having ſome buſineſs to do in *Captain Hicks* his ſhop, and receiving *26 s.* of him for *Buttons*, he demanded an Acquittance in full of *all* accounts; *T. Callowhill* deſired *him* to accept of it in full

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This is *Capt. Hicks*, a man that *never* drew *sword* in the field, that dare not meet a man there, that dares handle a *sword*, one of *thy* chieftaines to do *thy* drudgery; A member of the *Council*. and that hath been *Sheriff* of the *Citie* in this day, wherein as hath been said, *shame* is become the *promotion* of *fooles*.

And this is *some* account of the *Militia*, and the work of *some* of *their* Officers and *Souldiers*, which put the *Citie* to so great a charge, as the supplying of *their* armes for so long a season; of which the *Citie* began to grow so weary, and the *Stomacks* of the *House-keepers*, and under officers (who had formerly been in the field) were so clogged to be

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at *such* work, and to hale *their* peaceable neighbours up and down, who did not resist *them*. And so to be in order to the ruine of *them* and *their* families for *their* conscience, that the *Deputy* Lieutenants (who in many things shewed much moderation) laid it down, whom *thou* haddest instigated unto much of what *they* had done to *us*, who haddest *no* power to command *them*, but yet wouldst not let *them* be at rest till *they* had promised *thee* their assistance of whom thou haddest no need, *one* of *thy* officers being as sufficient for thy purpose (as hath been said) as a *Regiment*, for *they* would not resist, though thou lovedst to appear a man in power; and having thoughts that *thou* couldest never do too much against us, didst think *thou* never had too much power to effect it upon *us*, which cost the City so much, and may do *thee* much more, if *thou* dost not repent.

Thus ended the *Militia*, but here was not an end of *thy* rage and cruelty, for perceiving how the *City* was bent in favour of the *innocent*, and how their love was raised so much the more to *them* as *thy* cruelty exceeded and manifested in *their* friendly visits (for that which was *sober* could not withhold it self from *its* own which suffered.) *Thou* having mist that at which *thou* aimedst in *thy* prosecutions afore-said, and having little whereof to glory except that *thou* haddest failed in *thy* enterprise as a man enraged because of the love of others to *those*, whom without cause *thou* didst hate, as if so be it had been *crime* enough that *thou* haddest cast *them* in prison, and therefore none ought to visit *them*. And having not the *law* on *thy* side to make *them* close prisons whose misdemeaners brought not *them* into *thine* hands, but *their* conscience *thou* tookest another course, and as if the *King* and his Councell had nothing else to do, *thou* troubledst *their* ears

ears with *thy* Solicitors, and *their* hands with *thy* papers, *heaps* upon *heaps*, with informations against *severall* persons of note and eminency in *that City*, whom otherwise *thine* envy could not reach. And the *great* crime with which *thou* chargedst *them*, was that *they* visited the *Quakers* in *prison*, which neither *law* made sooner *true* humanity, nor *comerce* amongst *men*, for the *visitors* were concerned in the *prisoners* upon point of *relation*, *comerce*, *neighbourhood*, and *Country*, as aforesaid, and here *thou* keptst ado, not worthy the rehearseing, saving that thus far by hinting it, on record it may remain that what mischiefe in *thy* day *thou* didest work against the *innocent*, & how *implacably* malicious *thou* vvasst vvithout cause against *them*, that *thou* vvouldst not alowv *them* a visit, vvhom *thou* thoughtest fit not to be at liberty. And this will remain an *everlasting* brand upon *thee*, and thy *perpetual* condemnation, who wast so far from *visiting* the *prisoners*, that *thou* cast them into a *prison*, and sought to *ruine* those who came to visit *them*.

The next that comes to be related in order of time, is the imprisonment of *Joan*, the *Wife* of *Peter Hiley*, who having been at the burial of *Nicholas Tilleys* *Wife*, an ancient acquaintance and Neighbour of *hers* about three weeks before, and at the *said* burial having spoken a few words, *thou* didst send for the *Priest*, and causedst him to inform against *her*, and Committedst *her* to *Newgate* the 10 of the 12 month, for *disturbing* *Mr. Godwyn* the *Minister* of *St. Phillips*, and *depraving* the *Book* of *Common Prayer*, and for *refusing* to find *sureties* for *her* appearing the next *scissions*, as the *Warrant* of Commitment hath it signed, *John Knight*, *Maior*.

Whereas *some* of the words the spake were contained in the *Book* of *Common prayer*, viz. in the *burial* of the *dead*; *I am* the *Resurrection* and the *life*, he that believeth in me, though he were *dead*, yet shall he live (said *she*, faith *Christ*) and against

gainst the *Book of Common prayer* she spake *no* word; besides, the *Act of Uniformity*, upon which *thou* didst commit *her*, commits not to *Prison* till after Judgment in *Court*, upon *Tryal* by a *Jury*, and then 'tis matter of fine and imprisonment for *such* a time in default of payment, yet *thou* didst send *her* to prison, as skilful as *thou* pretendedst thy self in the *laws*, and deniedst *her* husband's bayl for *her* appearance the *first* time, though afterwards (upon better consideration its like) *thou* tookest *his* security for *her* appearance, from whose family *thou* hadst detained *her* (which was pretty great) and *her* children, for the space of *two* dayes.

This troubled the *City* very much, to see that *thou* couldst not forbear *thy* hands, but must fall upon a *woman*, and that in revenge (as *they* did judge) to *her* brother called *Robert Teamans*, whom *thou* hadst a few dayes before caused to be beset in *John Bowers* his house (one that had been *Sheriff* of the *City*, as had the other but the year before) by *thy* officers in the cold wet weather, for the space of the *best* part of a day, in order to *his* apprehension, the *keeper* of *Newgate* being there also, and attending to take *him*, and all this because *he* did not sit where *thou* wouldst have him in the *Council* house, who, notwithstanding at day-light passed out of *John Bowers* house, (the officers appearing sensible of *no* such enemy) who going to his home, though the officers warded the house aforesaid, till 10 at *night*, and then the *watch* till the morning, and after a few days, taking *his* journey to *London* upon his occasions, &c. so being out of the reach of *thy* malice, the *City* judged that *thou* fellest upon *her*, it being the day after *he* was gone, that *thou* committedst *her* in revenge of *him*, and so hadst *thee* in great abomination: and thus every action *thou* didst, laid *thee* more low, and brought *thee* into contempt with the *City*, who by *this* time was full enough of *thy* barbarous and over rude proceedings.

Next

Next to *her* was *Roger Oldstone*, who living in the Castle, and answering those that came to look for Inmates, that *he* had none in *his* house, and that if *they* would not believe him, *they* might go in *themselves* and see; *he* was taken up as *he* was going by the *Tolzey*, and brought before *thee*, and because none of *these* matters would bear weight to commit him, there being an *itch* in *thee* against the whole race of the *Jews*, (the *Jews* in *spirit*, as *Haman* had against the *Jews* in the *flesh*) *thou* couldst not tell how to let *him* go, without some print of *thy* cruelty; and therefore, to ensnare *him*, didst demand of *him* whether *he* was not at the meeting the *Sunday* before? and because *he* said, *it may be he was*, *thou* sentest *him* to *Newgate*, though there vvas no proof against *him*, and *his* own vvords vvherebut *it may be*, and there didst cause *him* to be detained from the 22d of 12th month, to the 26th of the same, from *his* Wife and Children, vvho for maintenance depended upon *his* liberty.

Hitherto, from the time of the commitment of *Thomas Speed* and those vvith him, as aforesaid, the meetings received continual interruptions by the vvists of *thy* officers, vvho continually attended them, warning *them* to depart & taking names, carrying *themselves* vvith that insolence & ill behaviour many of *them*, especially *thy* servant *Jones*, and *Yeoman Baal*, as vvvas hard heretofore to think it could be so in this City, having *thee* to back *them*, or rather *thy* spirit acting in *them*, beyond the bounds of law or reason, but *these* things prevailing not, for we vvvere at a point, it being the Testimony of God in us against the usurpation of man over his dominion in the Conscience, *thou* thoughtest *thou* wouldest try *thy* self what *thou* couldst do in *thy* evvn person, and so in an unwarranted guise such as before *thy* day *Eristol* never savv, *thou* camest down to the meeting vvith *Alderman Ciesvvick*, *Alderman Cale*, and *thy* officers,

And now let *all* that are sober judge in *this* matter, and whether as a *man* most resolutely concerned in the *ruine* of *us*, right or wrong, *thou* hast not proceeded in *this* whole transaction hitherto, and whether ever in the *Guild-Hall* of *Bristol*, in *this* generation, such *partiality* hath been used, and downright persecution in a *Judge*: And whether *we* are not (as to *men*) hard bestead, when as for *our* Conscience *we* are *thus* hurried up and down from *one* Law to another, from *one* penalty to *another*, if the first will not serve the *turne*, or cannot be accomplished, who stand before the *Judgment* seat of *such* a *Judge*, as hath shewed *himselfe* as *thou*, as afore-said.

But to close up *this* part of this relation, and therein *this* present sitting of the *Sessions*, the *next* day they were had to the Hall again, but not called, but the day after, *viz.* the 15th of the 11th moneth they were brought to the Bar, and then *thou* gavest sentence upon *them* as followeth, *viz.* George Bishop, Edward Pyott, 50 l. John Gibbons, and Nicholas Pool, 5 li. each. John Spoor, George Oliver, James Sterridge, Thomas Morris, Benj. Cottle 40 s. apiece, and to continue in Prison till payment, Thomas Speed, also Charles Jones, and W. Taylor, thou committedst to Newgate, though cleared by *their* Country, where *thou* keptst them til the 27th of the 12th mon. and hast so much of *wrong* imprisonment upon *thy* back, as to *them*, for *thee* to answer.

Now how couldst *thou* in law proceed to fine George Bishop Edward Pyott, &c. when as the verdict was *special*, before the *Evidence* was stated, and had Council debated whether the *Evidence* amounted to making good the *Indictment*, which it could *never* do. Therefore *thou* thus carriedst it, who carries *all* things according to *thy* will and *humour*, and yet *thou* cryest up the *Law*, and *thy* Sovereigns *Laws*, when as under
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the cry and pretence of *thy* Sovereigns Laws, *thou* ushers in *thine* own, and servest *thy* pleasure upon *people* that are *innocent*. But this covering will not hold *thee* long, for the *Judges* at *Westminster* may come in time to see farther through *thee*, who shortly hereupon saw cause to say (one of the *Judges* of the *Kings Bench* expressing it) to this purpose, *What? will they have the King to be King of England, and not of Bristol?* And so an Attachment was ordered against *thee* (though *thy* Council *Robbins* said *thou* wast a Member of Parliament) and Alderman *Creswick*, as to the *Affidavits* then read against you, and presented by the *Kings Soliciter General*, who in his speech set forth, that such things, as by those papers were charged against you, did not only invade the Law, but seek to juttle the King out of his Courts at *Westminster* (of which that was the Chief and Superintendent over other Courts of Judicature, in case of their going without the bounds of Law, as it had cognizance of what applications was made to them) and so consequently (as is said) out of *England*. So that (it seems) for *thee* and Alderman *Chreswicke*, an Attachment was ordered, though *thou* wast a Member of Parliament; and so whilst here *thou* cryest out *thy* Sovereigns Laws, to cover *thy* doings against the *Laws* of *thy* Sovereign, there *they* find cause to proceed against *thee*, as *one* that doth that which tendeth to the unkinging of *thy* Sovereign, and jussling of the King out of his Courts at *Westminster*, and so out of *England*. The truth is, *thou* would'st be Sovereign *thy* self; that is to say, *thou* would'st fain have *thine* own brittle, peevish, hot, and malicious will, to rule, which when *thou* hast no other shift to excuse, *thou* seekest to place it under the skirt of *thy* Sovereign, but the Lord hath and vwill find *thee* out, and render unto *thee* according to *thy* deeds.

Thus far proceeded the business of the *Sessions*, in reference to our *friends*; in the relation of which, *many* things are omitted which might appear of consequence to be set down, least *this* little manuel should appear a volume. Now *we* shall proceed to speak of *something* that was pretermitted in *point* of time, but not unfit *here* to be brought in, which concerns *Thomas Smart*, one of the *grand Jury* aforesaid, of whom some hint hath been already a little given.

This man being on the Guard, as *Captain Lieutenant* to a Colonel of the *Militia* Regiment, on the 25th of the tenth Moneth, 1663. commonly called *Christmas* day (unknown to his Colonel) caused *three* of our friends servants to be *unmercifully* tied neck and heels together, with half hundred weights and musquets hanging about their necks, in the *bitter* extremity of the cold wether, till the eyes of *some* of them were observed to be drawing out, and *their* faces were growing black, and the *natural* spirits of one of them ready to fail, which some who were not of the *Guard* coming in and seeing, took upon them to cut the *cords* and set *them* at liberty.

The Executioners of *this* inhumane butchery, were *George Witherley* a *Liter* or *Barge* man, and one *John Boone*. These having been abroad that morning, with other musquetiers, saw the *Shops* of some of our friends open (who in conscience to *their* Testimony, against such Popish observations, could not cause *them* to be kept fast) vvhich caused their rage to arise, and to the *Guard* to bring *Samuel Hollister*, servant and kinsman to *Dennis Hollister*, *William Sawcer*, servant to *Robert Nokes*, and *Richard Mercer*, servant to the Widow *Loverell*.

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Before *we* leave the Militia, *we* shall give *one* taste of *Captain Hicks* his spirit to *his* near and *peaceable* Neighbours; it seems the *Deputy Lieutenant*, and *Commissioners* of the *Militia* thought fit to *fine* some of *our* friends, for not finding arms to the *Guard* (whose principle was against *arms*, and which *arms* also were converted to the disturbing of our *meetings*, contrary to *Law*, and the imprisoning of *our* friends) amongst the rest, *Thomas Callowhill* was one, who dwelling a little below, on the other side of the *high street*, where *Captain Hicks* kept shop, and being somewhat of the *same* occupation, *Captain Hicks* with a *Constable* came, and though the *Warrant* was not directed to the *said* *Captain Hicks*, yet *with his* own hands, *he* took down *ten* pieces of *Manchester* tape worth *15 s.* for *10 s.* fine, and gave it to the *Constable*, who carryed it to the *said* *John Hicks* his house, not returning the overplus.

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Thus ended the *Militia*, but here was not an end of *thy* rage and cruelty, for perceiving how the *City* was bent in favour of the *innocent*, and how their love was raised so much the more to *them* as *thy* cruelty exceeded and manifested in *their* friendly visits (for that which was *sober* could not withhold it self from *its* own which suffered.) *Thou* haveing mist that at which *thou* aimedst in *thy* prosecutions aforesaid, and having little whereof to glory except that *thou* haddest failed in *thy* enterprize as a man enraged because of the love of others to *those*, whom without cause *thou* didst hate, as if so be it had been crime enough that *thou* haddest cast *them* in prison, and therefore none ought to visit *them*. And haveing not the law on *thy* side to make *them* close prisons whose misdemeaners brought not *them* into *thine* hands, but *their* conscience *thou* tookest another course, and as if the *King* and his Councell had nothing else to do, *thou* troubledst *their*

ears

ears with *thy* Solicitors, and *their* hands with *thy* papers, *heaps* upon *heaps*, with informations against *severall* persons of note and eminency in *that City*, whom otherwise *thine* envy could not reach. And the *great* crime with which *thou* chargedst *them*, was that *they* visited the *Quakers* in *prison*, which neither *law* made sooner *true* humanity, nor *comerce* amongst *men*, for the *visitors* were concerned in the *prisoners* upon point of *re-lation*, *comerce*, *neighbourhood*, and *Country*, as afore said, and here *thou* keptst ado, not worthy the rehearseing, saving that thus far by hinting it, on record it may remain that what mischief in *thy* day *thou* didest work against the *innocent*, & how *implacably* malicious *thou* vvaist vvithout cause against *them*, that *thou* vvouldst not allow *them* a visit, vvhom *thou* thoughtest fit not to be at liberty. And this will remain an *everlasting* brand upon *thee*, and thy *perpetual* condemnation, who wast so far from *visiting* the *prisoners*, that *thou* cast them into a *prison*, and sought to *ruine* those who came to visit *them*.

The next that comes to be related in order of time, is the imprisonment of *Joan*, the *Wife* of *Peter Hiley*, who having been at the burial of *Nicholas Tilleys* *Wife*, an ancient acquaintance and Neighbour of *hers* about three weeks before, and at the *said* burial having spoken a few words, *thou* didst send for the *Priest*, and causedst him to inform against *her*, and Committedst *her* to *Newgate* the 10 of the 12 month, for *disturbing* *Mr. Godwyn* the *Minister* of *St. Phillips*, and *de-praving* the *Book* of *Common Prayer*, and for *refusing* to find *Sureties* for *her* appearing the next *Sessions*, as the *Warrant* of Commitment hath it signed, *John Knight*, Maior.

Whereas *some* of the words the spake were contained in the *Book* of *Common prayer*, viz. in the burial of the dead; *I am the Resurrection and the life, he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live* (said *she*, saith *Christ*) and against

gainst the *Book of Common prayer* she spake no word; besides, the *Act of Uniformity*, upon which *thou* didst commit *her*, commits not to *Prison* till after Judgment in *Court*, upon *Tryal* by a *Jury*, and then 'tis matter of fine and imprisonment for such a time in default of payment, yet *thou* didst send *her* to prison, as skilful as *thou* pretendedst thy self in the *laws*, and deniedst *her* husband's payl for her appearance the first time, though afterwards (upon better consideration its like) *thou* tookest *his* security for *her* appearance, from whose family *thou* hadst detained *her* (which was pretty great) and *her* children, for the space of two dayes.

This troubled the *City* very much, to see that *thou* couldst not forbear *thy* hands, but must fall upon a *woman*, and that in revenge (as *they* did judge) to *her* brother called *Robert Teamans*, whom *thou* hadst a few dayes before caused to be beset in *John Bowers* his house (one that had been *Sheriff* of the *City*, as had the other but the year before) by *thy* officers in the cold wet weather, for the space of the best part of a day, in order to *his* apprehension, the *keeper* of *Newgate* being there also, and attending to take *him*, and all this because *he* did not sit where *thou* wouldst have him in the *Council* house, who, notwithstanding at day-light passed out of *John Bowers* house, (the officers appearing sensible of no such enemy) who going to his home, though the officers warded the house afore-said, till 10 at night, and then the watch till the morning, and after a few days, taking *his* journey to *London* upon his occasions, &c. so being out of the reach of *thy* malice, the *City* judged that *thou* fellest upon *her*, it being the day after *he* was gone, that *thou* committedst *her* in revenge of *him*, and so had thee in great abomination: and thus every action *thou* didst, laid thee more low, and brought thee into contempt with the *City*, who by this time was full enough of *thy* barbarous and over rude proceedings.

Next

Next to *her* was *Roger Oldstone*, who living in the *Castle*, and answering those that came to look for *Inmates*, that he had none in *his* house, and that if *they* would not believe him, *they* might go in *themselves* and see; he was taken up as he was going by the *Tolzey*, and brought before *thee*, and because none of *these* matters would bear weight to commit him, there being an *itch* in *thee* against the *whole* race of the *Jews*, (the *Jews* in *spirit*, as *Haman* had against the *Jews* in the *flesh*) *thou* couldst not tell how to let *him* go, without some print of *thy* cruelty; and therefore, to ensnare *him*, didst demand of *him* whether he was not at the meeting the *Sunday* before? and because he said, *it may be he was*, *thou* sentest *him* to *Newgate*, though there vvas no proof against *him*, and *his* own vvords vvherebut *it may be*, and there didst cause *him* to be detained from the 22d of 12th month, to the 26th of the same, from *his* Wife and Children, vvho for maintenance depended upon *his* liberty.

Hitherto, from the time of the commitment of *Thomas Speed* and those vvith him, as aforesaid, the meetings received continual interruptions by the visits of *thy* officers, vvho continually attended them, warning *them* to depart & taking *names*, carrying *themselves* vvith that insolence & ill behaviour many of *them*, especially *thy* servant *Jones*, and *Teoman Baal*, as vvvas hard heretofore to think it could be so in this *City*, having *thee* to back *them*, or rather *thy* spirit acting in *them*, beyond the bounds of *law* or *reason*, but *these* things prevailing not, for we vvvere at a point, it being the *Testimony* of *God* in *us* against the *usurpation* of *man* over his *dominion* in the *Conscience*, *thou* thoughtest *thou* wouldest try *thy* self what *thou* couldst do in *thy* own person, and so in an *unvvonted* guise such as before *thy* day *Bristol* never savv, *thou* camest down to the meeting vvith *Alderman Cresvvick*, *Alderman Cale*, and *thy* officers,

and there layedst about *thee* more like a *fool* than a *wise* man, and to the *Boyes* didst then address *thy* impertinent discourses, and to the *women*, making *thy* self a *laughing* stock, and if *any* one spake to *thee* in *such* a place, (as there were *many* that in the *power* of the *Lord*, spake to *thee*) thither *thou* wouldst get *thee*, and here take *him* away; and then another speaking, thither *thou* wouldst press, and what? *who is that?* have *her* away; and what *Sirrah?* are you a *Quaker?* whose boy are you? put down *his* name, with a deal of *such* ridiculous and foolish behaviour, more like a *boy* than a *man*, a *novice* than a *Justice*, a *Stage-player* than a *Mayor*, and so after *thou* hadst *thus* acted it for a while, and sent to prison *Thomas Atkins*, *Benjamin Maynard*, and *John Brooks*, *John Johns*, *Andrew Vivers*, *Susan Gotby*, *Joseph Kippin*, *Solomon Huntingdon*, *Elinor Mand*, and *Elizabeth Wilkinson*, as some shew of *thy* Triumph, 21st 12th month, 1663. *re infecta*, *thy* work being unfinished, leaving *many* of *us* behind in the *meeting*, upon whom *thou* commandedst the officers to nail the *doors*, and to keep *them* there till the *morrow*, which *thy* Sergeant *Jones* performed, haling the *ancient* widow *Teomans* by the arm, and calling her old *whore*, because *she* was going down the stairs, being hard of hearing, and so not knowing what order *thou* hadst given, and *her* Grandchild *Mary the Wife of Daniel Wastfield*, who went to attend *her* aged *Grandmother*, he called *young* *whore*, and *Joyce Warren* widow, *thy* sister in law, whose husband had been *Sheriff* of the *City*, and *his* Father *Mayor*, daughter to the said *Widow Teomans*, he threw down stairs, to the bruising of *her* head and arms, the hurt of which *she* hath not yet recovered. And so having shut up *men*, *women*, and *children*, together, *women* with *child*, and *nurses*, he went *his* way. Then the *Constables* came, who had more sense of humanity, and let out the *women* with *child*, and

and children: then when it was *even* dark, came *Sheriff Bradway*, and set at liberty the rest, taking their verbal engagement for *their* appearance the *next* day.

And this is the *noble* and *worthy* Exploit (as men use to call things by the contrary) which *thou* performedst in the *siege* of a *Company* of *innocent* men and women, who did not resist thee, and these are the *things* memorable therein. Thou saidst when *thou* came up the stairs, *see that none go down*, and when *thou* camest into the room, *thou* commandedst all to depart, and when *thou* wentest away, *thou* orderedst the *doors* to be *nailed* up, so that *they* that remained could not depart, so contradictory were *thy* orders the *one* to the *other*; and as *they* were contradictory, so they were not observed, nor hadst *thou* Dominion over those *people*, but the good hand of the *Lord* was over *them*, and *their* Meetings, so that neither the Officers *civil* nor *military* asunder, nor the Officers *Military* and *Civil* together, nor the *Deputy Lieutenants* and *their* Guards, nor *thou* in *person*, nor thy *Brethren*, were able *so* to work, as to discontinue *our* meeting, from the beginning of thy year to the end thereof; the *Lord* hereby shewing *his* dominion to be ever *all*, and that *his* Throne was set up in the midst of *his* enemies.

Now to these aforementioned, may be added *William Wells*, who for speaking a *few* words to thy officers in the Meeting, (who take and leave whom they please, and whom to speak to, be the matter or the occasion what it will, is enough to be sent to Prison, *themselves* being *Judges*) was had to *Newgate*, and there continued the space of *eight* dayes; at which time (*Sheriff Stremer* having heard that he was a poor man, and that *his* family depended for *their* livelihood on *his* liberty) upon *promise* of *appearance* at Sessions, if called, was set at *Liberty*.

And *Phillip Dimer*, of *Cork* in *Ireland*, and a dealer there, being taken up at a *Meeting* about the time of the *faire*, and sent to *Bridewell* by some of *thy* Officers, was at the Instance of *thy* brother *Francis Knight* of *London*, and other *Londoners*, with vvhom *he* used to have dealings, set free (it being a great obstruction to the *faire*, that *men* of substantialnels and dealing, as were many of *our* friends, should be by *thee* thus proceeded with, who should'st have been the great encourager of the *Faire*, in confidence of which (as of right it ought to be) *men* do frequent the *Faire*. Yet *thy* fellow Citizen therein (cry some) could not have *that* friendship from thee as *strangers*, though substantial men, and great dealers. But all *thou* couldst *thou* didst bear upon them, and by the *Fayre* especially, keeping *them* up then from their business, if so by *any* means *thou* couldest bow *them* unto *thee*. And that which was of Argument why *thou* shouldst dismisst *them*, to follow their business, that *thou* turnedst as an Argument to hold *them* to it, suppoling that by *those* pressuures *they* might fall under *thee*. But the everlasting armes were underneath *them*, which did keep *them*, and will all *those* that abide with *him*.

Now the *Sessions* drew on, to attend on which *thou* wast come down from *Westminster*, where *thou* hadst been for some time, having left it in charge with *thy* Officers, to visit *our* Meetings, in the *mean* time, on the *first* dayes of the *weeke*, vvwhich *they* did, requiring *us* to depart, and takeing *names*, which were said to be sent up to *thee*; for *thou* could'st not be satisfied; for the persecuting spirit in *thee* could not be at rest, but as by *some* way or *another* that was done which was in order thereunto; and what use of *those* papers *thou* madest above, *thou* knowest, and what endeavours *thou* didst use to bring through the Act, which was then in hand
against

against *us*, and how thou didst work to have the Convictions in order to Banishment, to be without Juries, *expressly* contrary (as *we* Judge) to *Magna Charta*; for then *thou* thoughtest (it's like) thou should'st have Matters in thine own hand, and *so* would'st do with us as *thou* pleasest, seeing that the Juries failed *thee*, and *thou* didst that *thou* knowest. Thy brother *Locke*, a man of that impetuous franticknesse, and *filliness* of *understanding*, that *he* serves for little else (save except to set the Court a *laugbing*) if no more would stand by *thee*, so *thou* wast satisfied. And *thy* Sergeant *Jones* when *he* came down from waiting on *thee* to *Westminster*, boasted in the Meeting, that there was a *Bill* past the House such a day against *us*, for that purpose, and *Eaall* vapoured that there were *ships* coming about that would carry *us* away, and *he* vvould loose *his* eare (yet *he* hath not been as good as *his* word) if we were there *four* Meetings more; and so *Imperious* vvvas *thy* Sergeant *Jones* grown (who from a *Beggar* of a *piece* of *bread* from *door* to *door*, to a *Sawyer*, and from thence to a *Sergeant*, was advanced) that *he* took upon it to *Lord* and insult it over *his* other *fellow* servants as well as *us*; and because that *Paul Williams* (one of *his* fellow *Sergeants*) would not take names in the Meeting at *his* command, *he* sirrah'd him (in imitation of *thee*) and laid *violent* hands on *him* in the Meeting, and tore *his* Coat, and dragg'd *him* down by violence, saying, *He* would send *him* to *Newgate*, and *then* brought up an other to do as *he* commanded.

And this was the hostility vvith vvhich *our* peaceable meetings to vvait upon the *Lord* were exercised, by men *whom* (as hath been said) one would have scorned to have put with the *Dogs* of *ones* flock; vvhom *they* please must go to *Prison*, whom *they* please must be set in *their* list; what *they* please *they* speak, and what *they* please *they* do, and is well vvhatsoever *they* do.

This

This liketh *thee*, to be exercised upon a people of such Estates (many of *them*) and *qualitie* in the City, as *thou* knowest, whose Liberty, Civil treatment, Estates, Families, Countrey, Lives (as it may happen) and all *they* have, must stand at the courtesie of *such* (and if *we* tearm them so, it is but what *they* are) base fellows. But the Lord was with *his* people, and gave them dominion over all, and enabled *them* to bear with Patience *this* great exercise, through the power and strength of *him* vvho was in the *midst* of *them*, whom *your* eyes cannot see; Who persecute *him* in *his* truth and people, who will Reign over you all for ever and ever, whom none of the Princes of this world knew, for if *they* had, *they* would not have crucified the Lord of Glory.

So the Sessions being come, which was held the 18th of the 12th Moneth, 1664. and *thou* being come down (as afore-said, to attend it) two Bills of Indictment were drawn and presented the Grand Jury; the one against *those* seaven whom *thou* sentest to Bridewell, and then committed *them* to Newgate, when *thou* wast *thy* self at Meeting; and the other against Joan Hiley.

That against the *seaven*, the Grand Jury cast out, and the other against Joan Hiley had like to have been too, had not Heyward the Taylor (one of the Grand Jury) in the breach of his Oath, given information to one of the Sheriffs, and so to *thee*, that it would be so if more Evidence vvere not brought in; hereupon *thou* bestirs *thy* self, and caused the Priest to be sent for, in prosecution of *thy* old design, which was to make us to suffer; and *thy* expectations was so on tiptoe, that *thou* couldst not forbear to ask the Foreman, Whether the Bill was found, before he came to deliver it in, who gave *thee* an answer as became a man in his place (whose name is John Tyler) though *thou* vventest out of *thy* place, though yet not out
of

of the persecuting spirit that was in *thee*, unbecoming a *Magistrate* to ask the *question*. So the *Court* was adjourned, this being the *fore-part* of the day, to the *after-noon*.

Then *she* was had to the *Court* and set to the *Bar*, and *thou* faine would'st have had the *Trial* put off, and spakest to *her* Husband so to do, and to enter into a *new* Recognizance for that purpose, but *she* could not consent to that, so *thou* wentest on to *Trial*, and the *Jury* was sworn, and the *Priest* set by her, and the *Indictment* was read, and *she* pleaded to it *Not Guilty*, and the Evidence was produced, of which the *Priest* was one, who said, *He heard some body speak, but could not say it was her*. And the *Jury* went aside, and much expectation was on the issue, for *ye* thought your *Jury* would serve *your* turne; and the *names* of the *Jury* being looked over, *they* were judged to be all right; and *Sheriff Streamer* (as was said) was very confident of the *matter*, and was overheard (as is said) to lay a Wager with *Capt. Hicks*, that it would be so, which *John Hicks* distrusting, the other is said to say, *He would lay his life they would find her guilty, and that there were four of them that would dye but they would do it*: Which appeared to have something in it, for the *Railly Errand* when he spake to the *Court*, said, That the *Jury* were all agreed save *four* (what *Working* here is to make the *innocent* to suffer) yet the *Jury* brought her in *Not Guilty*, the *Indictment* being not laid in the words of the *Statute*, as the *Council* made appear; and as for the *Words* of the *Statute*, there was not sufficient Evidence to prove that what *she* said was according to *those* words.

So the *Lord* wrought for *his* innocent servants which waited upon *him*, and so *two* petty *Juries* the *Sessions* before having failed *thee*, and now the *grand* and *petty Jury* made thee misse of thy end, and so that thy hands hitherto could

not

not bring to passe the thoughts of *thine* heart, for the *Lords* arme was against *thee*, and indeed the Citizens began to nawl at *this* unusual trade of *thine*, in putting them upon the tumbling their fellow Citizens into holes and corners, and so thereby *thou* mightst serve *thy* will and *pleasure* upon *them*; and now *thou* thoughtst it time to hie *thee* to *London* again, to get some *new* strength, and to recruit *thee*, who hitherto hadst missed, and to work *thou* wentst above to get the matters finished out of the *old* way of *England*, which was by *Juries* to the conviction of *two* Justices, as aforesaid, and the *Bill* was past, and now *thou* wast glad, and (as is reported) wept for joy; for now *thy* work *thou* thoughtest was not likely (*Sisyphus* his stone of which *Histories* speak) to return *still* upon *thee*, and *thou* to be laught at, which was the thing *thou* fearedst, and therefore (its like) bespeakest the *Citie* to be in an *ill* condition, and as if it were ready to be in a tumult (which was as still as the *stones* in the street) and *thou* art said to have suggested that *thou* couldst not undertake the *safetie* of the *place*, vvithout some such *additional* power, and vvouldst fain have made it the *same* through *England*, and now *thou* vvast paramount, and dovvn, *thou* camst, and here *thou* thoughtst to make *short* vvork. And as to other offices vvhereto some of *us* vvere called to serve, *thou* turn'st them by as a *people* vvhom *thou* intendedst to make *clear* vvork vvith asking vvhy *they* did choose *us* for such offices, giving the people so to understand, and intimating that a *shorter* course would be taken with *us*, which might put us out of the *Capacity* of bearing Office, and so *thou* vvouldst have *us* reserved to the greater blow, hoping at *once* to make riddance of *us*, and to quit *us* the Nation. But *we* shall have a place and name therein, when *thou* art forgotten, except it be to *shame* and *obloquie*.

Thus

Thus thy heart was lifted up, and *thou* preparedst *thy* self for the season, wherein the Act should take place, viz. the first day of the 5th month called *July*, following, hoping then and afterwards at once to do *thy* work upon *us*, and so high were *thy* spirits boyed to this attempt, that *thou* hadst not patience to stay until the day; but before the day, *thou* wentst to work, (and yet *we* think *thee* not very wise in so doing, but the Lord suffered *thy* haste to befool *thee*) and on the 12th of 4th month down *thou* sentest *thy* officers, who to the meeting came, and there played the mad men (some of them, *Jones*, &c.) halting and pulling, striking and dragging, and *thy* said Serjeant *Jones*, put off *his* Gown, and to work he went (for he must do something one way, as *thou* hadst done another, and why not, seeing he was executioner, as *thou* wast Magistrate?) and about he swings his Mace, and had bruised one of *our* Friends hands therewith, in pieces, in all likelihood, at which he struck, if it had not been taken away, and here the peace came to be broke on a peaceable people; and those of the officers, that could not be as mad as he, but had some reluctancy against such usages to people of qualitie; and their loving Neighbours, he used as he pleased; in particular *William White*, an old Royalist, whom he much in words abused; and because *we* could not bow to his commands, he caused some of *us* to be dragged and had away, and carried to Prison, as if he were Mayor, and Justice, and King, and Parliament, and all, and above them all, in breaking the Peace, which the Law is against, whose Names are as follows, *William Ford*, *Nath. Milner*, *John Love*, *Sam. Taylor*, *Will. James*, *Jos. Moor*, *John Johns*, *Israel Bird*, *Robert Claxton*, *Tho. Jaques*, alias *Jackson*, *Will. Emblin*, *Jos. Canning*, *Hen. Prichard*, *And. Sole*, and *Tho. Atkins*, and these the next day *thou* committedst to Newgate, for being at an

unlawful assembly, under presence of Religious worship, on Sunday the 12th of June in the time of divine service, and for resisting the Officers who were to disperse them, and refusing to give sureties for their appearance the next Sessions, and in the mean time to be of the good behaviour. Signed John Knight Mayor, Hen. Creswick, Nath. Cale, dated 13th June 1664.

And this was the Sabbath dayes work of thy officers whom thou sentest on this errand (breaking the peace) and confirmedst after they had done it, who yet pretendedst to the keeping of the Sabbath, and criest out upon us for breaking the Sabbath, in meeting on that day to wait upon the Lord, the work (as your selves accounted it) of the Sabbath, and for coming to town on which day to save a womans life, who was in travel, thou causdest a horse of a man-midwife to be detained till he had paid a fine for riding on that day, for that purpose being sent for in halt, Richard Blackborrow Brewer, thy neighbour, and yet thou couldst send a *Capias* on that day newly taken out of the Court (for the wax was wet) to detain Robert Steward that was brought to Newgate late the night before in a debt of thy brother in law Duckets of 200 l. who cryest out of the breach of the Sabbath, thou Hypocrite, who makest Sabbath, and Law, and all what thou pleasest, who shewest of what Religion thou art towards God by these things, as of Loyalty to the Law and thy Prince by the other, but of this more hereafter.

And yet thou wast mistaken in thy warrant, and shewed thy self thereby how wrong thou didst run, even as a man, headlong into any thing that seem'd to serve thy end, talking of resisting, and not dispersing, when as the new law which enabled to such things, was not then in force, and there was no other (as we know of) that so enabled, yet this is the usage that we and our peaceable meetings receive from the hands

hands of *thy* officers, and *this* is the Justice we receive at *thy* hands, to have *thy* confirmation of what *thy* officers have done, and all the remedy we have; but we leave it to the Lord, who will render unto you according to your deeds.

Now drew on the 1. of the 5. month called *July*, famous for the date of the new Act, on which it took place, and became in force, which *thou* hadst so much longed for; and for the accomplishing of which *thou* hadst so much trudged, for which *thou* shalt have thy reward from the hand of the Lord, and now the day being come, having before hand caused the Constables to be warned, and the meeting being on the first day of the week, and the *third* of that month, *thou* sentest thy Officers first to bid *them* to depart, & to take names, who took away *Jahn Maon* to *Bridewel*, as he was then declaring in the words of *soberness* and *truth*, and between the first and second houre in the *afternoon*, *thou* camest *thy* self attended with *Alder. Lock*, and *Alder. Lawford*, (the other Aldermen it seems being out of the way, or not caring to be about such work as *this*) and at the door of our meeting house in the street, being set down with *them*, and the *Sheriffs*, *thou* didst cause an *O Yes* to be made in the form of a Court, one which day no Courts are used to be kept in *England*, who talkest so much of the Sabbath, and chargest us with profaning the day, because we meet thereon to wait upon the Lord, the work of the day (as you use to say) upon the day; and madest the *manmidwife* pay the fine for coming that day to town, as aforesaid; the effect of a *murderous* spirit shewn under the pretence of Religion and conscience, to the observation of the Law, as did the *Pharisees*, who put him to death, who was the end of the Law, who healed on that day; whom he convinced of the contrary in the example of *David*, in the *shew-bread*, and their own

in taking an *oxe* or an *asse* out of a pit) and sent'st the *Capias* in thy brother *Ducker's* behalf on that day, as hath been said, and (to adde no more) didst constrain *Christopher Woodward* to bring upon the foot of a *Mortgage* payable on that day of the week his mony to the *Tolzey*, whether he was on that day necessitated to bring it, least thou shouldst take advantage of the forfeiture of the *Mortgage*, who otherwise wouldst not give him encouragement to accept it, when he spake with thee thereabouts; and is not this Hypocrisie, and that which is like thee, in all thy actions pretend conscience, and do the contrary, In which we shall farther trace thee ere this relation be over.

Well, the Court being set, as aforesaid, in the nature of a *Piepowder* one, thou sent'st the Constables and Officers up into the Meeting, who brought down the men first, whom thou didst Maunder at as thou pleasedst, and then demanding of some of them mony (for of several thou didst not, and yet sentest them to prison contrary to Law) 10 s. 2 s. 6 d. and of some 6 d. ye 2 d. which they not answering, thou sentest some to *Newgate*, some to *Bridewel*. Then the Women were brought down, whom thou servedst after the same manner, many of them not being fined then, nor so much as asked, Whether they would pay any Mony, though the Law places Imprisonment in default of payment of the fine, and not otherwise; vvhich practice thou didst use many times after: but have them away, have them away vv as thy cry; and to *Bridewel* and to *Newgate* vv ere many of them also carried, though it is contrary to Law also, to make a man suffer twice for one offence, vvhich thou madest them to do, in committing them for being at a Meeting one day, and the next day fining them (as by and by shall be related) for doing of the same; so making the Law a nose of wax, bowing and bending it as thou

thou pleasest, and yet pretending, as to vvhhat *thou* didst to us, Conscience to the Law.

About four hours time *thou* tookest up in *this thy* New found vway of Justice, sending Men and Women in heaps to both prisons on this account; some Husbands one vvhere, their Wives another; some Servants vvhere their Masters and Mistresses vvhere not, some old, some young, some under-age by the Law; some Women with Child, and so big that they knew not of an hour to go, and this to Bridewel; and yet others, vvho were of age, *thou* vvouldst not account so, but placest them under, having a mind to excuse them, and yet *thou* pretendest Conscience, and *thou* say'st, *Thou must not be partial, and thou must execute the Law, and thou must keep thy Oath; and though others fail of their duty, yet thou must not.* Thus, like the Pharisees, making thy Philacteries broad, but the Exposition of the Law narrow, or none at all, as *thou* pleasest; yet *thou* could'st not accomplish thine end, viz. the sending of all away, notwithstanding all *this* busle, and the violence of some of thy Officers, particularly John Jones thy Sergeant, vvho because Thomas Winsfeld answered not presently his Command to come down, he violently threw him down the stairs, from top to bottome, with such a fall as had like to have spoiled him (the fear whereof seized on many) thus breaking of the peace, above, whilest *thou* wast below, as seeming to sit and keep it; yet we say *thou* didst not accomplish thine end to put up all, and so to make clear work; for though *thou* sentest away of Men & Women to Newgate 24. and to Bridewel about one hundred forty and six, and sat'st at it so long, yet *thou* wast forced to arise and depart as a man quite tired, saying, *Thou couldest do no more, and so* there was many of whom *thou* tookest no notice.

So *thou* hadst thy Belly full of Prey this day, and as great

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an opportunity, in *this* kind, against the *Innocent*, as *thine* heart could wish, and with *thine* hands *thou* didst the desire of *thine* heart, till *thou* couldst do *no* more, for which the *Lord* will give thee *thy* reward, even blood to drink, for *thou* art worthy; and in the *Cup* wherein *thou* hast filled, shalt thou be filled double, as *John* saw in *his* Revelations, who prophesied of *thy* day in the fall of *Babylon*, who had made *he* self drunk with the blood of the *Saints* and *Martyrs* of *Ie-sus*, Rev. 18.6. In the *cup* which *she* hath filled to you, fill to her double, saith *he*, which shall be *thy* portion from the hand of the *Lord*, except *thou* repent.

And now the *City* was full of sorrow, and much trouble affected the *sober* people therein, vvhho before never saw such a day, nor heard of in *Bristol*, vvherein *their* quiet, peaceable, *sober*, *innocent*, and substantial fellow-Citizens, were thrust in *heaps* into *holes* after such a manner for *their* Conscience. *Bridewel* being full of *them*, like the place of a great Fair, *five* and *fifty* Women in *Bridewel*, not having above *four* or *five* beds to lie on; about the Bed of vvhich in *one* Chamber lay about 30 on the *form* and *floor*, which by reason of the *uncleanneſs* of that house in many places of it (being cast in there in such numbers on a suddain, so that the house could not be cleansed before) vvas so filled with *vermine*, that through the going up and down of such multitudes, in every place, vvhho in a manner filled every place was contracted, so that sleep could not rest in the eyes of many who had not been exercised vvvith such hard lodging and troublesome guests; Who were people of *Quality* (many of them) and *Credit*, and lived otherwise in the world. And in *Newgate*, several such, viz. some Merchants, some Shop-keepers, were constrained to lie on *straw* that night, above *Twenty* lying in the Circumference of one narrow place (for such a number).

number) called the *Traitors ward*, and indeed *that* prison was *so* full, what with *our* friends before and now committed, and what with *old* and *new* debtors, and *fellows*, the time of the *Assizes* and *Gaol delivery* drawing on, that *they* were cast thicker in proportion than a man that had regard to *his* creatures, would put *his* dogs and *swine*, as if *so* be *thou* intendest by *infection* to have dispatcht *them* in that *noysome* hole which is scarce fit for *dogs* much less for *men*, *such* men as *they* were and had been bred and lived, though *thou* thereby shouldst hazzard *thy* self & the *City*, it being the hot season of the *year*, and in that respect the *more* dangerous, much like to *Nero*, whom *Histories* report to have caused *Rome* to be set on fire in several places whilest *he* standing on a *Tower*, with *his* Musicians made sport thereat.

Yet *this* effected not what *thou* thoughtst to bring to pass, *viz.* by *these* things to withdraw the love of the *City* from *us*, or to deter *them* from *their* visiting of *us*, for it increased *their* love; and people by heaps came to visit those of *us* whom *thou* hadst cast into prison; some by the sixth hour in the next morning were there to visit *them* *viz.* at *Bridewell*, and by continual intercourse both *there* and at *Newgate*, and expressions of *their* love shewed how much *their* hearts were roused with *their* sufferings, and let *us* tell *thee*, it reached further than *any* thing of *this* nature had reached before, and many were pained at the heart, and knew not what to doe, *such* large furrows had *these* *thy* cruelties made upon *their* souls; vvhich shewed *thee* an *unwise* man in *thy* Generation thus to *Act*, raising the fire so much the more, vvhich *thou* soughtest hereby to quench, and making *those* the *more* considerable, and to have a deeper root in the *City* then ever, whom *thou* wouldest and endeavourdest to have rooted out; for as was wrote *thee* aforesaid; they being interwoven in the

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City as a *mans* spirit is in *his* flesh, and *his* flesh in *his* body the suffering of *them* proved as a *mans* flesh in *his* body, and *his* spirit in *his* flesh; and *thou* camest to be abhorred hereby, and *thy* name to be as a *stink* in the *City*, which as it never before saw *such* heaps of violence: So it never hated a *man* more that *thus* did exercise it, and so whilest *ages* and *generations* lasts, *this thy* work will be *thy* shame and in the perpetual Monuments of *time* will brand *thy* name with ignominy for ever: *Thou* shalt not avoid it except *thou* repent.

Nor was it *only* in *Bristol*, that *these* things thus ran, but in the *Countrey* about, and in *London*, yea throughout *England*, which whilest it generally stood in a *modest* sensibility and loathness to *such* Acts as *these*, had the leisure to hear the sound of *these* cruelties and to abhor *thee*, so that *thou* becamest the general talk in *City* and *Country*, especially at *London*, and not without the like at *Court*, which thought *thee* hadst gon beyond the limit of the *discreeson* of *their* affaires, and *mad* man like hadst set *all* on fire, when as *two* or *three* sticks (some of the *principle* of *them*) as the *Law* directs, might have tried how *that* smoak would have proved, and its like *thou* hadst no thanks from *thence* for so doing.

Yet the *Lord* was with *his* people who kept *them* in *prison* amidst *all* these sufferings; praising, and glorifying *his* name as *he* was with *them* at the *meetings*, and in the sence of *his* presence gave *them* the seale of *his* Aprobation, that, that *their* testimony to *him* was acceppable in *his* sight, and that *they* bore testimony to *him*, Whose Names are.

Newgate Men.

Thomas Gouldney, Charls Jones, Miles Dixin, Charls Harvard, Will. Taylor, Rich. Marsh, Will. Taylor of the Castle,
George

George Gough, Rich. Snead, Rich. Belfhar, Hen. Dedicote, Jos. Owen, John Cole, Andrew Sole, Erasin Dole, John Hunt, (16.)

Women.

Mary Gouldney, Eliz. Pyet, Magd. Love, Ann Sole, Joyce Dole, Eliz. Moore, Eliz. Gibbons, Joan Hiley. (8) 24 in all.

Bridewell Men.

John Moon, John Batho. Thomas Lewis, Nath. Day, Edw. Biffield, John Neeves, Will. Davis, John Iwear, John Dole, Ben. Maynard, Rich. Gotly, Phil. Cook, Hen. Moor, Rich. Nelson, Hugh Hobbouse, Tob. Dole, Thomas Hilman, John Bedford, Charls Sanders, Jer. Hignell, Rog. Oldstone, Liming Dickason, Will. Noble, Will. Hill, Art. Hyat, John Summers, Rob. Summers, Rowl. Dole, Nath. Allin, Sam. Gibbons, Charls Bowen, Dan. Gibbons, Edw. Payne, Iam. Slaughter, Rich. Horsman, John Styant, John Saunders, John Cox, Ed. Daniel, Rob. Weale, John Neve, Thomas Whitturme, Will. Wells, Will. Tippet, Will. Peachy, Sim. Cadle, Isa. Partridge, Cananuel Britten, John Price, Lew. Rogers, John Herne, Griff. Bowine, John Martin, Sam. Rogers, Tho. Losty, Will. Camson, Iarvis Wallis, John Crump, Robert Gerish, James Toghill, Morris Williams, Bern. Lidman, Anistop. Bennet, Rich. Griffen, William Lane, Sim. Potter, John Morgan, John Hart, Will. Maynard, Will. Blackway, John Bennet, Tho. Bowes, Tim. Hardiman, Tho. Bayly, Will. Atkins, Rich. Moor, Tho. Winfield, Bartho. Crocker, Richard Willis, Tho. Stockman, Will. Collins, John Warwick, Tho. Window, Calib Hill, Step. Cormell, Will. Gotby, William Williams, Will. Sawcer, John Love, Abra. Cole, Tho. Watkins, (91)

Women.

Mary Prince, Han. Iordan, Mary North, Susan Pearson, Mary Nokes, Eliz. Sturridge, Eliz. Jaques alias Jackson, Gartrude Boyte, Elen Cole, Ioan Tucker, Ann Chaffin, Ruth Davis, Marg. Thomas, Mary Naylor, Ann Brinckworth, Sara Cattle, Fran. Styant, Ione Holister, Dor. Lord, Ann Phillips, Ione Lippiat, Eliz. Child, Alice Norden, Briget Francis, Mary Cole, Elen Maud, Eliz. Maynard, Brightward Geffries, Hest. Reynolds, Briget Wory, Mary Turner, Mary Hampton, Ione Willy, Kath. Davis, Eliz. Morgan, Ione Williams, Fran. Hobhouse, Han. Pitt, Ann Bateman, Sara Maynard, Mary Neve, Mary Rice, Ione Jones, Kath. Hughes, Susan Gotby, Mary Willis, Ioan Weale, Barb. Blackdown, (48) More were committed of the women, which made the number 55. whose names the Mittimus had not: who before the mittimus or warrent came, might be at liberty, for it came not till the 18th of the same month; and then it was to keep them Prisoners till the 3d of the 6th month called August following; at which time they were set at liberty, the Warrant being not to suffer any during that time to joyn with them under the pretence of the exercise of their Religion, under the penalty of the Act. Signed, John Knight, Mayor, John Lock, John Lanford.

The next day being the 4th of 5th month, thy Sergeant Jones and the Town Clerks man came both to Newgate and to Bridewell, and demanded of them to pay 2 s. 6 d. a piece, who the day before were fined (many of them) 6 d. each, and committed for non-payment (as many were who were not fined at all, nor asked to pay, as aforesaid) and so were fined twice for one offence, and committed twice, and some

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committed, and then fined and committed; and *this* is the manner of *thy* wild proceedings; which said fine, each refusing to pay, were committed, as aforesaid, the Tenor of the *Warrant*, or rather *Mittimus*, for this was not like a *warrant*, though it should have been a *warrant*, according to the *Act*, being the same in *both* places, and coming, as aforesaid, which hath been a *usual* thing with thee, though without it there is *no* legal commitment, and an *Action* lies against the *Sheriff* for so detaining *them*; yea some (hereafter to be mentioned) were committed, and confined *many* dayes Prisoners, and no *Warrant* of Commitment to this day, being contrary to *Law*; yea, after thou wast out of thy year several dayes, came a *Warrant* to *Newgate* for the last 22 committed thither before the expiration of *thy* *Government*; and what if it were signed *John Knight* Mayor, after *thy* date was out?

And *this* is the trade, and *this* is the work *thou* drivest at *Bristol*, than which, what *more* arbitrary? and *this* is *thy* conscience to the *Law*, to the execution of the *Law*, unto which *thou* pretendest. When *thou* art spoken to about this cruel persecution; O the *Law*, sayest thou, *my oath*, *I must execute the Law*, *I cannot help it*, *I am sorry for it*, for *Gods sake consider of it*, and do not ruin your selves; which, if it were a *truth*, it would as well extend to *Prisoners* under the restraint of the *law*, or rather *thine own*, under the *pretence* of the *Law*; for *Conscience* rightly informed, and working as it should, works uprightly to the *one* as to the *other*; but *these* are but shifts of thine, by which *thou* wouldst make people to believe (such as are so weak so to do, and there are but few of *them* in *this City*) as if *Conscience* fate at the *Helm*, and steered *these* proceedings, and that nothing but *Conscience* was the cause of what *thou* doest unto *us*, vvhó suffer for our *Conscience*: Now *Conscience* is not against *Conscience*, vvhére

indeed it is so; but vvhat *Conscience* thou hast, is in part already manifest, and shall further be demonstrated ere *we* have done vvith *this* Relation; for vvch purpose, *viz.* to make manifest to *thee* *thine* own vvork, and to bring it back again upon *thee*, it vvvas in part undertaken.

To give *one* instance before *we* go any further, in the Case of *Mary Gouldney*, vvwhose mother and *thine* vvvere *own* sisters, as *thou* knowvest, and hovv her mother vvvas as a Nurse unto *thee*; for *her* Conscience *thou* committedst *her* and *her* husband *T. Gouldney*, both on the day aforesaid, who have (as *thou* also knowest) a *Shop*, and *great* Trade, as to *Grocery*, and *several* children. It so fell out, that a *relation* of *hers*, unknown to *her*, laid down *half* a *crown*, which *thou* hadst fined *her*, whereupon *she* was ordered to be set at liberty, with which *she* not being satisfied, but fearing *some* underhand work, took the *under-keeper* with *her*, and went down to *thy* house, and understanding there by *thee* how the fine was paid, and that it stood as *her* *first* Conviction; being without *her* knowledge and consent, for to consent was *all* one as to pay it, and thereby *she* should have made *her* self a *Transgressor*, and by *her* own action have spoiled *her* Testimony; *she* declared it to *thee*, and demanded the *money* to be deliver'd back again, which being *done*, *thou* wast so unconscionable to *her*, who did what *she* did in *tenderneß* of Conscience, lest *she* should sin against the Lord, rather than do which, *she* vvillingly offered up what *she* had in this World; that *thou* deniedst *her* the liberty to walk *sometimes* in *her* own Garden, vvch vvvas near the *Prison*, (& there being no out-let to the *Prison*, vvch ought to be for the health of the *Prisoners*) for *her* Milk sake, vvho vvvas a Nurse to *her* little Boy, it being *hot* Weather vvhen *she* asked it of *Thee*; No not for 500 *l.* *thou* vvouldst not do it, saidst *thou* to the *Keepers* Wife, and

to *John Saunders* his Wife vvho spake to *thee* about it, not for 300 l. vvhen she vvvas vvith *Thee* about *her* husband *John Saunders* his liberty (vvho vvvas a *Grocer* also, and a man of much busines, and had many children, though *her* Father, *Alderman Deyes*, was thy Mothers own Brother, and bred *ibee* up) nor vvouldst *thou* do any thing for *John Saunders*, but in the hurt of his Conscience, though being committed by *thee*, he lay upon stravv in *Traytors Ward* for *his* Conscience.

And this is *thy* Conscience, and the tendernes of *thy* heart to *thy* friends and near Relations for *their* Conscience, yet a great deal of love *thou* vvouldst needs pretend to *thy* Cozen *Gouldney*, as *thou* hast to many more of *Us*, but vvherein it appears, is yet to appear. Sure *We* are that *she* continued a Prisoner till the expiration of the time aforesaid, and *her* husband also, and *John Saunders*, as *thou* doest to us vvhat *thou* pleasest, vvhom vvithout a cause *thou* pursuest: but the day of the *Lord* is upon *Thee*, and *thy* Deceit is made manifest.

The next first day of the Week being the 10th of 5th Mon. *thou* didst cause the doors of the *Meeting-house* to be kept fast, having had *thy* belly full of toyl the day before; and being willing (its like) to hear how *thy* other dayes action vvvas resented at *Court*; the *Prisons* moreover being full, and the *City* discontented, and the *Sessions* drawing nigh, so the *Meeting* vvvas in the street, vvchich received the *Taunts* of *thy* Sergeant *Jones*, (vvho had newly bought his office, and as the Proverb is, speaking by contraries, vvould needs be good in it) and *Baal* aforesaid, vvho seeing two strangers there that came out of *Ireland*, took them avvay to *Bridewell*, and having taken the *Names* of whom *they* pleased, went their *Way*.

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The *Sessions* being come, viz. the 12th of the 5th mon. a *Bill of Indictment* at *Comon Law* vvas drawn, and exhibited against *William Ford*, and those 14 vvith him, that were had from *Meeting* the 12th of the Moneth before (as hath been related) and laid in *Prison*, vvhich the *Grand Iurie* finding, they were brought to the *Hall* in the *Afternoon*, and there put into the *Cub* where *Murderers* and *Felons* are used to be placed (though *W. Ford*, and *Nath. Milner* were thy neare Neighbours, and men of dealing, in whom the *Poor* were much concern'd, and of good Reputation) and the *Indictment* being read to them there, For being at an unlawful Meeting, by force and Arms, &c. They pleaded (except *Thomas Atkins*, and *Iohn Iohns*) Not Guiltie. The *Witnesles*, viz. thy Officers, were examined, who swore, That in the Kings Name they made Proclamation for them to depart; When as a Month before, when thou committedst them, they swore that it was in thy Name, for which thou then reprov'dst them, saying, It should have been in the Kings; which in a Monthstime (it seems) was become so. This the *Prisoners* observed, and pleaded against the Validity of their testimony, who swore one thing one moneth, and another thing, as to the same matter, another month, as they did against the fallshood of the matter of their Testimony. This thou undertook'st to justifie, and would'st needs (to shew how thou wa'st still concern'd in the Prosecution of our suffering) prove by Consequence; thus, Thou wert the Kings Officer, they made Proclamation in thy name, who wast an officer of the Kings; therefore it was in the Name of the King. Fine Logick in Law: But a *Bill of Indictment*, as to *Perjurie*, before a *Righteous Jury* (thou not being the Judge, for thou art concern'd, and no righteous Judgment can be expected at thy hands) would clip the ears of thy Officers, and give

give them other sufferings of *fine* and Imprisonment; and then how could *thy* Logick serve *them*? For, Words of Evidence ought to be *plain*, and the *same*; not *one* day *one* thing, and *another* day *another* thing; and *thy* Name is not the *Kings*, and the *Kings* Name is not *thine* in point of Proclamation, especially unless thou wilt needs be *King* in *Bristol*, which, it seems, one of the Judges of the Kings Bench saw cause to place upon thee, as aforesaid.

Take heed *John Knight* of *these* things; *Ego & Rex meas*, *I and my King* cost Cardinal Poole something; *thou* must not come too near here; though *thy* mind aspires too much. Remember the saying of *old*, viz. *Kings and Concubines admit no competitors*. Take heed, *Iohn Knight*, of *Tower-hill*, the *Axe* there hath an edge for all *save Kings*; and *once* know, that *Proclamations* as to *Law*, must be in the *Name* of the *King*, not *thine Iohn Knight*; unless in the *Name* of the *King*, so *thou* maist stay *thy* hast, least *thou* repent at leisure. These things rendred *thy* Witnesses in *view* of the *Hall*, not fit to testifie, having appeared *forsworn*: But *thou* didst not think so, that was not to the business *thou* hadst in hand, viz. *Right* or *Wrong* (as it seems) to make *them* suffer; so false Witnesses may serve, any thing, that is *like* that's call'd a Witness, that hath a *syllable* or *two* like the matter, may serve the *turn*; the matter is judged *already*, viz. *They shall suffer*. The same was in the case of *Thomas Speed*, &c. as aforesaid.

So *Robert Edwards*, Sergeant, swore Positively, that *W. Ford* was in the meeting, when as he met *William Ford* in the *street*, and there took him up; and when *W. Ford* asked him, *In what place* he saw him in the Meeting? he hung down his head, and said nothing. The same he also swore as to *John Love*, whom he saw coming down the stairs of the meeting

ing Roome; But *all* men that are in their wits do know, that the stairs to a place is not the place; and Evidence in point of Testimonie, ought to be Positive, both as to Place and Time.

Yet *this* was the Entertainment that *they* met with at *thine* and the hands of *thy* Officers. But this is not all; after these *thy* Witnesses had said what *they* pleased, *thou* spakest a few words to the *Jurie*, and then they withdrew forthwith, not having heard the *Prisoners*, who though they called upon *them* to stay, and to hear what *they* had to say for themselves; for, *Qui Judicat aliquid, altera parte in audita, hand equum facit Judicium*: That is, He that judgeth anie thing, the other part being unheard, can hardly give right Judgment, as the Maxim is; Yet away *they* went, as if having heard *thee*, it was enough; and that the knowledge of thy mind were sufficient, so giving to understand, as if there were a Confederacie between *Tou*, to make *them* to suffer, which one of *them* intimated to *thee* in a Letter, hereafter to be mentioned. Whereupon the *Prisoners* called aloud to *thee* and the *Town-Clerk* to cause *them* to stay; in which, being importunate (as indeed it did concern them) *thou* and the *Town-Clerk* called to them to stay, yet they would not return to *their* place to hear *them*, but went in; and after they were withdrawn, *Gunter* (the Fore-man of the *Jurie*, an Officer formerly in the *Militia*, and a known inveterate enemy to *us*, came forth with the Book of Statutes under his Arme, desiring to know of the *Town-Clerk*, against what Statute it was, when the Indictment was at Common Law. So well prepared was *this* Fore-man and the *Jurie* (as men use to say by the contraries) and instructed in the case of the *Prisoners*, that they departed before they had heard, and would not return to hear what they had to say in *their* own behalves

(as

(as aforesaid, though they did not understand) to vvhich the *Town-Clerk* reply'd to this purpose, That it vvas not against any *Statute*, but the *Common Law*.

Nevertheless, the *Lord* over-ruled *him* and *them*, having a regard to his *Name* and *People*, who were Innocent of any such thing as *force* and *armes*, &c. both in *heart* and *band*, in *principle* and *practice*, vvhich *thou* endeavouredst *still* notwithstanding to *fix* upon *them*. We say, the *Lord* over-ruled *them* so, as that *they* brought in a verdict in *Writing* (as the *Prisoners* heard, for *they* saw not the *Jury*, nor heard what *they* delivered, which ought to have been otherwise) to this purpose, *Guilty of an unlawful meeting, but not of force and arms; and to the terror of the people*. The same, in effect, as had been by *all* the *Juries* in *their* Verdicts, as aforesaid. The *Prisoners* understanding that a *Verdict* was delivered, demanded, *What it was* : The *Clerk* answered, *Guilty of an unlawful assembly*. They said, *They* understood it was also, *but not of force and Arms*, &c. He answered, *It was force and arms by consequence*, being found an *Unlawful assembly*; the same which *thou* hadst answered in the *like* case before: for the *Clerk* is but the servant of the *Court*. But *you* are mistaken in the *Point*, as before in the case of *Geo. Bishop*, *Edw. Pyott*, &c. is declared at large. Then *thou* didst fine *them* 10 *s.* a piece, and committedst *them* to Prison till payment.

Now the Letter wherein *their* hard usage was rehearsed to thee, of which *something* hath been hinted, was as followeth:

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Friend

Friend,

I Am constrained for the clearing of my Conscience towards God and towards Man, to write these few lines unto thee, in regard that on the 12th of this instant, I, with many more of my friends, were called before thee at the Quarter-Sessions, being a full moneth and more in Prison, for no other cause, but for being at a Meeting to Worship the Lord, who will be worshipped in Spirit and in Truth, out of which all the Worlds Worshipps are. We being then willing to come to our Tryal, expecting that we should have been fairely delt withall, and we have refer'd our cause to that of God in our Juries consciences, which we knew right well would have given *Virdict* according to the righteous Law which ought to be a Perfect guide to all men, but they being incensed by thy many false accusations, and the false evidence given by thy servants, carried them (I mean the Jury) probably to manifest themselves so wickedly, and so unreasonable towards us, For was it ever known that a Jury should refuse to hear the Prisonners, or that a Magistrate should suffer a Jury to deale so wickedly, and unreasonably contrary to Law, since that it was so much desired by my selfe and others, which had very much to say to them? Was it not like that thou, and they were agreed to ensnare the innocent? Thinkest thou that the Lord will not visit for these things, and that the wicked shall goe unpunished? Is this for the Honour of the King, or shall it be laid to his charge? Remember how thy servants when they gave evidence against us, how on their Oathes that they said that they made Proclamation twice in thy Name, and thou reprovest them, and said, they should have done it in the Kings Name; Yet when we were brought to our Tryal, they on their Oath's said, It was in the Kings Name, I declared their deceit to thee, thou endeavourest to blinde it over by thy consequences

ces declaredst that they being thy Officers, and *thou* being a Subordinate Magistrate under *him*, they declaring in thy Name; it was in the Kings Name, but these things will not hide *thee*, neither doe I believe that the King will own the evil actions of evil Magistrates; which by such evil consequence might be turned upon him, but the Lord will in *his* time finde *you* out, and make *you* manifest, and plead the cause of the *innocent* in *righteousness*, and avenge *himselfe* of of his enemies.

Friend, *It is well known that we are a people which are of a good life and conversation in this City, and thou in thy conscience knows that we have not as to the Common Law deserved either bonds or imprisonments, but if for conscience sake we must suffer, it is not more then we can expect from the unrighteous, and the disobedient, for they always did so; and by that character are they known; for saith Christ, They shall hate thee out of the Synagogues, and persecute, and despitefully use you, and speak all manner of evil against you, for my Names sake; and he that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution: Did ever the righteous persecute, search the Scriptures, and be not deceived; Was it not he that was born after the flesh, that persecuted him that was born after the spirit? And was not he that was born after the flesh an envier and a murderer, a scoffer, and a scorner, and a persecutor? And is it not sorrow, and was not hee that was born after the spirit Meek and Gentle, and of a Lowly heart, being persecuted, suffered it, resisting not evil, but doing good for evil; Search thy selfe and trie which of these states are thine, for assuredly the day will come when thou shalt not hide thy selfe in pretending only that thou art sworn to keep the Kings Laws, and to put them in execution; But what Laws is it that thou puttest in execution? How doth wickedness abound in this City, even al-*

most all manner of profanes? How doth Oathes sound in the streets? How doe Drunkards reile from Alehouse to Tavern, and Alehouses, and Taverns, and Kettle Allies swarm with profane Persons; Take heed that thou art not found to turn the edge of the sword, which is for the wicked, and for the transgressor against the righteous, and so bring innocent blood on thine own head, for thou mayst remember that when thou wast speaking of the Law, thou saidst it was grounded upon the Scripture; then consider our indictment was not proved against us, for it was false, we having no force of Armes, neither was we a terroure to any people, and as for our meetings we know rightwel it is according to the will of God, and agreeable to the Scriptures, & it was the practice of the S^rs. of old, who met often together in private houses, and in the fields, and on the mountaines in season, and out of season for the edifying of the body, not having any regard to the worshipping in Temples and Synagogues, which Christ prophesied against: But one thing more concerning our Tryal, Is it not according to the Law, that the Jury should have given their Verdict in open Court in our hearing, and so have been Recorded, but it we never heard, neither did they all appear in open Court when the Verdict was given, which was done so privately, I call it privatelie, because wee Prisoners heard it not, but when we demanded what Verdict was brought in, one of your Clerks laid, Wee were brout in guillie without any limit, but we are informed otherwise, and that it was written in a piece of paper, so thou mayst see how unrighteously thou hast delt with us, in casting us into prison: and so I shall leave these things to the righteous Iudge of all the earth, which will Judge righteously between us, and thee, Thus have I cleared my conscience, who am a lover of thine immortal Soul, and desireth the salvation of it.

Will. am Ford,

Thus

Thus ended the *Sessions* so far as it related to the *Prisoners* affairs aforesaid, now the Fair drew on, as to which *both those* in prison, & *those* out were much concern'd, what as to themselves, & what as to those who were dealers with them, besides many accounts fell then to be made up, whilest those strangers were here who had dealing with them, especially being upon the foot of a *Law*, for *Banishment*, and many thought who were not of *us*, that these things would have had some influence on thee, to have pretermitted the edge of thy Prosecutions on *us*, at least till the *Faire* was over, it being a matter of great cruelty that *We* should be thus put upon it, in one juncture to hazzard so much of our business, or our conscience.

And although *thou* hadst no reflection of tenderness, as to *us*, *thy* Neighbors in this particular, to doe as thou wouldst be done unto, yet some thought both of *thy* Relations, and others concern'd in the *Faire*, that were not called by our Name, that thou wouldst have had some regard to them, and the City, seeing we were concern'd with so many people that were not of as well as with those who were of *us*, it being thy Place to indulge the *Faire* by all means *thou* couldst, but *thou* turnest the *deaf* ear to *all*, and wouldst not here, no not so much as to intermit *one* dayes furious onset upon *us*, but as if the Prisons were not full enough already, or that the weather was not *hot*, or that there was no danger of *infection*, *thou* drovest on without consideration like the *Ostrich* in the wilderness that layeth her egg in the sand, and considereth not that the horse heel may crush it, and when she lifteth her self up regardeth not the cry of the driver, and on the 17th of 5th Moneth, being the first day of the week without any of the *Aldermen* with thee at first, (*Alderman Sandy* for whom *thou* didst send, coming after) *thou* camest down to the meeting with the *She-*

riffs, and an Oyes being made in the meeting Roome, *thou* there behavedst *thy* selfe as heretofore, and didst commit to Newgate.

Men.

Dennis Hollister, John Speed, Daniel Waffield, Edw. Martindale, William Teamans, John Withers, VVilliam Rogers, Gobert Sykes, John Sanders, Nine in all, whereof four were Merchants, two Grocers, two Soap-boylers, one Salter, most of them considerable men, both as for estate and dealing : *Will. Teamans* son and heire of *Robert Teamans*, who had been Sheriff of the City, and was executed at his wives Fathers door in the beginning of the late war for the King, *John Speed* and *Dan. Waffield* sons in Law to the said *Robert Teamans*, who married two of his daughters, but none of these things could prevaile with *thee*, though *thou* wast not ignorant of *them*, and yet *thou* pretendest to be a friend of the Kings, who then the sea Monsters wast worse, of which *Ieremie* complains, for they draws out the breast, and give suck to their young ones, *but* thou becamest cruel like the *Ostritch* in the wilderness, *Lam. 43.* And to *Bridewell* thou didst commit.

Men.

Tho. North, (a Master of a ship, and on a Voyage to Sea)
Tho. Baker, Thomas Terret, Dan. Neal, John Mills, John Earns,
Samuel Comb, W. Price, Rob. Gibbons, James Barker, W. Wilcox,
George White, Andrew Vivers, John Hardiman, John Rogers,
W. Tovy, John Naylor, John Smith, John Hale, John Clark,
W. Shatford, Theophilus Newton, Sam. Cottrel, Richard Lindey,
Simon Cox, Morgan Lamb. (26)

Women

Women.

Jane Batho, and *Alexandra Harcourt*. twenty eight in all, making up the number with those at *Newgate* 37. and the number of those before committed, two hundred thirty and four, that is to say, at *Newgate* 60. and at *Bridewel* 174.

On that day also *Sarah Wilkinfon* was brought to *Bridewel*, for being with *Priest Horn* at *James Steeple* house, and *John Simons*, the day before for words, pretended to be against your Worship, though hardly so to be strained, making up the number, as aforesaid.

The *Sessions* being upon the morrow, viz. the 18th of 5th Month 1664. (for thou heldst them in Adjournment the greatest part of the Quarter to serve thy Pleasure) thou didst send for *D. Hollister*, *John Speed*, *Dan. Waffield*, and *Edm. Martingdale*, and there didst sentence *D. Hollister* in 4 l. fine, the rest in 2 s. 6. d. a piece, which they not answering, thou condemnedst *Hollister* to ten weeks Imprisonment, (a day beyond the Date of thy Government) and the rest at a Month, and then reirauendedst them to *Newgate*; the rest at *Newgate* and *Bridewell*, committed the day before, were sentenced in 2 s. 6 d. apiece, and a Months imprisonment, in default of payment; which they not answering, viz. the Fines, were continued till the expiration of the date aforesaid. Signed *John Knight* Mayor, *John Lock*, *Walter Sandy*.

Indeed *Dennis Hollister* had something to do with Thee at the *Sessions*, for thou rambledst about there much according to thine old wont, talking what thou pleasedst thy self, and charging up and down at what rate thou wouldst, and wouldst not let him speak in his own justification, wit

much interruption; calling him *Rebel*, and the *Meeting* a *company* of *Rebels*, with a deal of other *stuff* not worth the *Relation*. So that *he* was constrained to tell *thee*, That *thou* wast an *Unrighteous* Judge, who wouldst not hear as well as speak, who wouldst charge a *Man*, and not give *him* leave to answer for *himself*; and he alleged that he was not satisfied with *his* cominitment, seeing that *thou* hadst neither *then* nor *before*, made it to appear that the *Meeting* was under pretence of *Religion*, or that *he* met so, which, that it was, *thou* hadst caused to be set down in the *Record*, though the *Witnes* did not so swear, and yet wouldst not hear, but didst cause *thy* *Record* to be read, where it was set down as *aforesaid*, viz. that *he* was there under the pretence of *Religion*, with which *he* charged *thee*, and with the *falsnesse* of *thy* *Record*; whereupon *William Kemp* the Sergeant which was the *witnes*, was called again, and *he* affirmed, upon *thy* demand, that *he* could only say, that *he* saw *D. H.* at the meeting, and that *he* saw him there, but knew not under what pretence it was; and that *he* heard *him* to speak to *thee*, viz. that *he* was there in the fear of *God*, and not in contempt. Whereupon *D. H.* to'd *thee* of *thy* *Unrighteousnes*, in *sobriety*, and in *moderation*, and how *thou* sawest that the *Witnes* could not swear that *he* was there under colour and pretence of *Religion*, and yet *thou* hadst recorded it as *sworn*, and how *he* did absolutely deny that *he* was there under *any* pretence, and colour whatsoever, but in the fear of the *Lord*; and *he* demanded of *thee* to make it to appear that *he* had so broken the *Law*, which *thou* hadst inserted in the *Record* without *proof*, and so was but *thy* saying so, who saidst what *thou* wouldest, and didst what *thou* pleasedst; yet *thou* wouldst not hear, but told *him* that *he* was fined 4*l.* as *aforesaid*, or *he* must lie in *Prison* 10 weeks, as *aforesaid*; which *he* refusing to pay, for *he* told *thee*,

thee, he would not pay Thee four farthings, thou sentest him with the rest to Prison. And this is another Demonstration of thy Unrighteous, and Unjust Proceedings, in seeking right or wrong, to make us to suffer, and is a proof of the falshood of that thy Record, which (it seems) though false ; and thus Wrong must stand in force against them, but these thy doings make thee manifest, and thou shalt have rendred unto thee from the Righteous God according to thy deeds.

Indeed, *thou* wouldst needs have forced what *he* said to thee the day before, to have been spoken by *him* in Contempt. viz. That *he*, bearing that *thou* hadst made a strict enquiry after *him* in particular the last time *thou* wast there, *he* had hastned to order his business in the Countrey, and to get home his wife and family, and that *he* was come there freely to give up himself into thy hands, and to manifest that *he* neither feared thy Prisons, nor thy Banishment, for *he* said, *he* was not ashamed to suffer affliction with the people of God : which *he* spake upon thy saying to *him*, that *thou* didst wonder that *he* was so unwise a man as to be found in so unlawful an Assembly, when as *thou* soughtst *him* there, and understanding that *he* was there by thy officer, camest down to the Meeting, and behind his back upbraidedst *his* being absent. So it seems with thee *he* was one thing absent, and another present, as to the same thing ; but it appeared that *thou* thirstedst to have *him*, and being absent, *thou* reproachedst *him*, and being present, *thou* termedst *him* a man unwise, who was there in obedience to the Lord, to bear testimony to *his* Name : So what will please thee ? But no man right in *his* wits can construe this matter of Contempt, but rather as a Determined Resolution to abide what *thou* couldst do unto *him* for *his* testimony to the Truth.

So this Sessions passed over also, receiving another Adjournment,

ment, for *so thou* keptst the Sessions *still* on foot ; loving to domineer it there, and thither to drag after *thee thy* fellow Citizens, to talk, and do to *them* as thou didst please, where *thou* wast sure to keep *them* from answering *thee*, but as *thou* pleasedst.

By *this* time the Prisoners were become *very* strait, what through Debtors, the fair drawing on, what through Fellons and Trespassers, the Oyer and Terminer and Goal delivery being near, what through the multitude of *Us* Prisoners, and the heat of the *Season* ; whereupon lest any infection should be, or other inconvenience to the health, or life of the Prisoners, and so to the Sheriffs, and the City, some then being not well, who had long lain on straw, though of tender education, a Letter was wrote to Sheriff Streamer, by one of the Prisoners, for him to communicate to his brother Sheriff Bradway also, signifying *these* things, and warning *them* of the inconveniencies, and desiring an Enlargement of the Prison, as of Right it ought to be, and according to Law, the Power of the Goal being in *them*, which *they* could enlarge and remove as *they* would ; which had the same resentment from *them*, who declared *themselves* content, and orders *they* gave to the Goaler to enlarge the Prison, and Sheriff Bradway ordered D. Hollister (who was an infirm man of Body) to have a lodging near the Prison, which *thou* wast so offended at, though *thou* wast not Sheriff, (and so *thou* meddled in other mens matters) that for quietnesse sake, and that the Sheriff might not be too much taunted at by *thee*, (for *thou* threatenedst much, though without Power) D. H. thought it convenient to return, and so went to old Newgate again. *Thou* hopedst indeed to have taken the Goaler upon the Hip, for letting him at large, because he was seen standing at the door of his Prison ; and without Court, Evidence, or Jury, didst demand

demand 10 l. of *him* presently, as a *fine* upon the *New Act*; but *thou* wast mistaken, as aforesaid, for it was *his* Prison; as thou wast also in *thy* manner of Proceeding, who didst use the *Jaylor* at thy pleasure, though (as hath been said) *thou* wast not *Sheriff*, and hadst nothing to do with the *Prison*, further than Commitment according to *Law*, and the *Jaylor* was to observe the *Orders* of *his* Masters. So a great stir there was, which was most *unreasonable* in *thee*, not only for the *Reasons* aforesaid, but because *thou* hadst before by thy Sergeant *John Jones*, upon the first great commitment on this *Act*, sent Orders to the *Jaylor* of *Newgate*, and the *Keeper* of *Bridewell* also, to enlarge the *Prisons*, into *places* near, which *thou* didst upon *his* informing *thee* upon *his* own View, and at the desire of some of the *Prisoners*, how *they* were throng'd together, and yet now didst find fault with what was done in pursuance of *thine* Own, as vvell as the *Sheriff's* order.

But all these things do manifest *thy* insatiable rage against *us*, who wouldst not *willingly* have *us* breath in the *Earth*; and though *Humanity* sometimes did touch *thee*, through the *unreasonableness* of *their* sufferings, and the out-cry of the *City*, and so wouldst order *something*, as aforesaid, yet by and by, when that *insatiable*, persecuting spirit was up in *thee* again, *thou* wouldst do the *contrary*, even contrary to *Humanity*, not considering that *thou* also wast a *Man*, and subject to the same infirmities as they, and wouldst not have the things *thou* didst to *them* done unto *thee*; yea, so *inhumane* *thou* wast, that a *ruffling* fellow (in appearance) being a *stranger*, and passing by the *Prison*, with his horse, seeing Company at the door of the *Prison*, and enquiring the matter concerning the thing, and understanding of *Our* imprisonment, said, in a great detestation of *thee*, to wit, *Was this Man born of a Woman?* Which question *he* might very

well ask, having understood how contrary to a *Man thou* hadst acted.

The same stir *thou* keptst, lest any of the Prisoners at the time of the fair, should have any connivance to be a little at home to order *their* business, (being very great with *divers* of *them*) and to make up *their* Accounts with *those* with vvhom *they* dealt ; and *thou* wouldst not yield that thy Cozen T. Gouldney (who had great occasions) should vvith a Keeper be a day or two at his house, and J. Speed could not be permitted one hour to be at home, to finish an Account with an *Exceter* Merchant, who, it seems, for that purpose made the desire ; and *thou* didst hope by all this to have bowed *them* unto *thy* will, through the necessity of their affairs ; for many friends were hard put to it, having, several of *them*, *themselves* and *servants* in prison, and the fair being the time of *their* harvest, as it were, for most of the year following ; but the Lord was vvith them, though *thou* vvast so cruel and unmerciful, and kept *them* in *this* great Tryal, vvherein *they* vvere proved ; and seeing *they* had done vvhat appertained, and vvhat in a good Conscience *they* could do to *their* families, submitted to the Will of the Lord, and vvere content, that *he*, through *their* sufferings, might be glorified ; for vvich the Lord will be their Reward, they having chosen rather to suffer their *Estates* and *Liberties* to be forced, than to force their Conscience.

Now on the 24th of 5th Month, the day before the Fair, and the first day of the Week, thou vvast otherwise employed than to be at the Meeting ; for *thy* going to James Steeplehouse, vvich vvvas in the Fair, with thy train, hindred thy coming thither, lest thy Pomp should be lessened by thy attending upon us ; so the Meeting had some rest from the trouble of thee and thy Officers that day, though the strangers were

were not altogether free at *thy* Worship, whom to put in those that followed *thee*, thou thy self (as was said) vvith *thy* own hands, coming out of *thy* Pew, most unlike a *Maïor*, but some such vvork *thou* must needs be at, as with *us*, pulldst out, forgetting (it seems) where *thou* vvast.

The *first* day of the *week* following, *viz.* the 31 of the 5th month, was much like this, the *Officers* came and took *some* Names, but went *their* wayes without making any other disturbance, at least such as *they* were wont to make in *that* place. For indeed, till the *third* day of the next moneth was over, the expiration of the *date* of *thy* first Commitments, *thou* knewest not well where to put *them*, the *Prisons* there being full, would *then* have some ease, who on that day were set at *liberty*; those in *Bridewel* being a *Considerable* number, going in a *Body* to the *Tolzey* together, and then to *their* several habitations as *they* were free.

So the *Prisons* being somewhat eased, the *next* first day *thou* camest unto *thine* old vvork again, being the 7th of the 6th month, and with such a greedy appetite as a *Wolf* long vvitheld from *his* vvonted prey, *thou* fell'st upon the *Meeting*, and there having set up *thy* vvonted Court, and caused an *O Tes* to be made, *Ald. Creswick* being vvith *thee*, thou didst send to the *Prisons* these that follow :

Newgate Men.

Nath. Day, William Davis, W. Taylor, W. Lane, Rich. Snead, W. Pope, Christ. Bennet, John Brook, Jos. Kippin, Joh. Dowell, Robert Nokes, Benjamin Maynard, George Gough. (13.)

Women.

Mary Gouldney, Han. Jordan, Joan Hiley, Isâbel Yeamans, Eliz. Rogers, Mary Smith, Martha Smith, Mary Corbet, Bathsheba Speed, Grace Withers, Ann Day, Sarah Bennet, Lidia

Lidia Tovy, Joan Dixin, Mary Belshar, Eliz. Maynard, Eliz. Moor, Ann Sole. (18.)

Bridewell Men.

Dan. Gibbons, Charles Marthal, W. Davis, Jam. Neves, Phil. Cook, Sam. Godfrey, Charles Bowen, Jam. Dimond, Joh. Martin, Edw. Bifield, Rog. Oldstone, Griffith Lascomb, W. Cannings, Rob. Weale, John Styant, John Heme, Ralph Cock, Sam. Gibbons, Nat. Allin, Barth. Crocker, Thomas Bayly, Rich. Willis, Edw. Daniel, John Seward, Griffith Browne, Thomas Saunders, Will. Sawser, Jam. Toghil, Leming Dickason, Phil. Peak, Joh. Warwick, John Crump, Will. Hill, Will. Tovy, Caleb Hill, Wil. Atkins, Jam. Wallis, Joh. Price, Ambrose Scot, Peter Hadeing, Char. Saunders, Will. Wells, John Neves, Will. Britton, Edw. Paine, Tho. Wickdow, Lewis Rogers, John Martin, Sim. Cadle, John Packer, Will. Cawson, John Jennet, Nich. Horseman, W. Peachy, Rob. Gerish, Tho. Hilman, W. Pludwell, Tim. Harding, Tho. Bourne, Joh. Wear, Joh. Bennet, Joh. Dale, Cananuel Britton, Bern. Lidman, Sam. Plumnely, Tho. Lofly, Joh. Knut, Joh. Cox, Edw. Bennet, Jam. Slaughter, Thomas Stockman, John Summers, Will. Gotby, Hugh Hobhouse, Richard Gotlies. (75.)

Women.

Sarah Peak, Sar. Snead, Joan Day, Eliz. Driver, Sar. Maynard, Mary Lindey, Sus. Pearson, Blanch Bough, Elinor Lewis, Ann Long, Sus. York, Elin. Cole, Ann Hawkes, Martha Chock, Joan Crew, Bridg. Wory, Joan Tomlinson, Rebecca Howell, Han. Balle, Merlin Jones, Eliz. Stevens, Joan Britton, Joan Farmer, Mary Jones, Dorcas Gibbons, Joan Hill, Ann Davis, Ann Phillips, Edith Byfield, Sus. Styant, Frances Styant, Ann Watkins, Ann Britton, Eliz. Price, Kath. Wakeliffe, Elizab. Matthews, Emme Simons, Joyce Warren, Joan Younger, Jane

(III)

Jane Weale, Sarah Davis, Ann Hill, Eliz. Eagles. Mary Evans, Mary Neves, Ann King, Margery Lovell, Mary Naylor, Eliz. Turford; Mary Leveret; Rebecca Jennings; Grace Eaton; An. Sampson; Elin. Maud; Sus. Gotby; Kath. Hughes; Ann Price; Mary Harvord; Eliz. Ariell; Sarah Morris; Mary Rice; Alice Kill; Mary Cole; Mary Cockman; Mary Lovell; Mary Knight; Ann Mayes; Mary Brock; Margr. Thomas *junior*; Mary Chambers; Mary Toghill; Joan Williams; Mary Hamptons; Elizab. Wilkinsons; Gartrude Boiste; Ann Bateman; Eliz. Martin; Eliz. Walker; Elinor Traverse; Eliz. Holder; Alice Slaughters; Margr. Thomas *senior*; Ann Chaffins; Mary Perry; Joan West. (88.)

The *whole* number of *this* dayes commitment to Bridewell, of Men and Women being One hundred sixty and three, and to Newgate Thirty and one. One Hundred, Ninety and foure in all.

And many of *these* were *Wives*, and *Servants*, and *Masters*, and *Husbands*, and *Children*; the *husbands* of some in one place, and the *wives* in another; for thou vvillingly wouldst not suffer any to pass, so greedy wast thou; and amongst the rest were *three* Women whose *Husbands* were distracted, and had been so for a *long* season; and several of *these* were poor, whose Families depended upon their *liberty* for their maintenance; yet one and the other, old and young, master and servant, children and parents, husband and wife, in poverty or abundance, all must go; to no sort, or sex, or age, or condition hadst thou regard; but of thy devouring spirit of rage and envy all must partake, and be lodg'd in *these* prisons, however they come out, dead or alive, all was one to thee. Nay if so be they, yea all the generation of *us* who fear the Lord, might have been so disposed of, as that they never more might have seen the Sun, or been heard of, it had pleased thee

thee well, unto whom the *Innocent* are a *burden*, and *thou* wouldst be rid of it; but upon *thee* must *their* sufferings rest, till *time is no more*; and *Eternity* be the everlasting portion of *thy torment*, if *thou* dost not Repent: For certainly *they* are the *people* of the *Lord*, and *he* brought them thither, and it is *Jesus* in them that *thou* persecutest; who kept *them* in *their* meetings, as *he* brought *them* thither, though *thou* saw'st him not; who is with *them* in the *Prisons*, and in *all* their afflictions *is afflicted with them*; who will raise *them* up over *all* your heads, to reign for ever and ever.

Now at *this* meeting *thou* carriedst *thy* self after *thy* wonted manner of *Rage* and *Envy*; and *thou* broughtest thither with *thee* Alderman *Lock*, and Alderman *Creswick*, who made up *thy* Court; the *Sheriff's* were present also; and even to the Widow *Teoman's* (that *Antient*, *Grave Matron* aforesaid) whose age rather bespoke a *Coffin* then a *Banishment*) *thou* took'st as *thou* could'st meet, and wouldst have sent *her* to *Newgate* also with *this* croud of *Prisoners*, had it not been for Alderman *Creswick* (who it's like had little rest that night for that dayes service) who caused it to be otherwise. Yet *thou* didst commit *her*, though *thou* released *her* presently; and made that *her* being with the *people* of the *Lord* at meeting, to wait upon *him*, a step to *her* banishment; *her* Gray hairs being *thus* honoured of the *Lord*, to live to *that* day to bear a Testimony for *him* in the face of *thy* fury, and of *Banishment*, who is scarce able in *body* to reach to the place of Meeting.

And here we must bring in the *sad* Reckoning of *Lidiab Tovy*, Wife of *Rich. Tovy*, Brewer, *Alice* the Wife of *W. Peachy*, and *Mary Knight* servant to *Nath. Milner*, Prisoners aforesaid, vvwhose lives (and the *Infant* of one of *them*) *this* dayes work of *thine* took away from the *Earth*; whose blood

cries

cries for vengeance against thee, and will lie upon thy head for ever, except thou Repent.

Lidia Tovy vvas very big with child; a little Woman and Young; the only daughter living of her Mother, who was a Widow; and except one son all the children she had alive. Thou saw'st in what condition she was, when in the meeting, as to her being with child; thou knew'st her to be thy Neighbour, thou didst nevertheless commit her; yett thou wouldst seeme somewhat tender, and said it should be but till the morrow; though that was a step in order to Banishment, which she was the nearer to, by how much her imprisonment vvas short.

So to prison she was brought; and the very noisome sent of the old Goale at the door as she was brought to come in, struck in upon her. In the Prison she abode till the 7th day of that week, notwithstanding that thou saidst before a multitude of witnesses, that it should be but till the morrow. There she aylded, wanting breathing and room; vvhich she usually in that condition needed much. Her illness grew on, and Symptoms of a Miscarriage, though so big and near her time was on her. Her Husbands Brother (*Thomas Tovy*, who lives on the Bridge, and is one of the Council) went to thee on the 5th day of the week, and her tender mother on the 7th day, giving thee to understand how it vvas vwith her; for by this time her danger vvas so manifest, that she bled upwards; thou wouldst not hear, but bad her come to thee on Monday. That 7th day at night the Keeper of Newgate being with thee, about the liberty of some of the Prisoners, of whose having been at Bridewell thou hadst heard, and therefore sent for him thereabouts, he informing thee of her condition and danger, thou began'st to be sensible, not for her sake (as we may judge) but thy own, and the out-cry that would

be made against *thee* if *she* died. So *thou* didst haſt *him* to ſet her at liberty, ſaying, Turn *her* out, turn *her* out; ſo *ſhe* came, and that night ſent *her* home. Well, *Monday*, of which *thou* ſpokeſt to *her* ſorrowful mother, came, but *ſhe* vvas laid in *her* bed a moſt ſad ſpectacle, continuing very ill, and neither *hearing* nor *ſeeing*; her infant came dead from *her* that night, and the next morning, being the *third* day of the *week*, ſhe yielded up the *Ghoſt*, laying down *her* life at the foot of *thy* cruckty, vvho vvith *her* tender babe vvvere laid in the earth *together*, never to return *thence* more for *thee* to Banish, though after *her* death *thy* Warrant came to detain *her* in priſon till the *6th* of the *7th* moneth following the date of *her* commitment, with the reſt of *them* that *thou* then committedſt vvith *her*; vvhoſe blood ſhall never depart from *Thee* and *thy* houſe for ever, if *thou* doſt not Repent.

Alice the Wife of *W. Peachy* vvas a Young Woman alſo, very big vvith child, vvich vvas *her* firſt; *ſhe* vvas at the meeting vvhen *thou* and *thy* Officers vvvere there. One of *thy* Officers halld *her* rudely towards *thee*, bidding *her* come along, another vvas behind puting *her* forwards, which being beyond vvhat *ſhe* was able to do, being very big as aforeſaid, it hurt *her*, and in *her* face it vvas diſcovered preſently; and was ſo in the obſervation of ſome friends preſent, who vvvere about to call on *thy* Officers for hal-ling *her* after that manner. So *ſhe* went home ill, and was delivered the next day, and never was well afterwards, but continued ill till the *14th* day of the *6th* Moneth, on which day *ſhe* dyed, her Husband being then priſoner in *Bridewell*, committed with the reſt the day aforeſaid.

Mary

Mary Knight was also committed on the *same* day to *Bridewel*, and the next day being *very* ill, was had to *her* masters house by *thy* suffrance, where *she* died about *twelve* daies after of a *violent* feavour, *her* body being brought to *Bridewel* from thence to be buried, because *she* was a prisoner, there bled afresh at the *Nose* for about an *houre* together (the *certain* observation of the *invisibile* judgement that *that* place was the *cause* of *her* death.) Yet *thou* wast not satisfied that *thou* hadst *her* life, but *her* body being brought to *Bridewel* to be buried *there*, as aforesaid; and the *woman* of the house desiring *thee* to give leave to some of the prisoners to carry *her* to *burial*, *thou* wast very much offended at its being brought thither, and with the *woman* for that purpose, and in *despight* said, that *if they* wanted *Bearers*, the *Beadles* should do it.

Thus was the Blood of the *innocent* shed, and of *three*, and an *infant* as the issue of one of *thy* daies work; yet wast not *thou* glutted therewith; but although that *thou* hadst committed *these* as aforesaid, and laid up in the prisons heaps upon heaps, though the *prison* was *so* unholosome, *so* unfavoury, though there was *such* danger of infection; yet *thou* thoughtst the *Prisoners* were not straitned enough, but ever and anon *thou* hadst the *Jailor* by the ears, rating *him* as *thou* pleasedst, and threatening *him* what should be done with *him* at the *Sessions*, and that all that he had was forfeit to the *King*, if he were worth *thousands*, so that the man was in a great strait, how to walk between the pleasing of *thee*, who thirsted after *their* destruction; and the health of the *Prison* and the *prisoners*, unto whom the *Sheriff's* had such regard, as to order *additional* lodgings, as aforesaid, and were willing upon a *sober* letter of one of the *prisoners*, that they should have a

little breath, which was *all* they ask't whilest they were amongst you, which is the thing *you* would have *your selves*, and to have granted *them* the garden of T Gouldney afore-said, to walk in, being so near the prison, and the prison of Newgate having no outlet, though the Kings Bench, the Fleet, and other considerable Jailes in England have, that so *heaps* upon *heaps*, men might not be smothered to death, and prisons be made places of execution, and holes of murder, but *thou* wouldst not consent thereunto, but as if by *all* that *thou* couldst do, *thou* sought'st their ruine; or to bow their conscience to *thee*, which was worse; *thou* didst as afore-said, Haman like, but Mordecai (the true Jew in the Spirit) cannot bow to *thee*, though *thou* seekest therefore to cut of the whole Race of the *Jews*, as afore-said, which as it did to Haman, will prove *thine* own portion (if *thou* dost not repent) in the day of the Lord, who will render to *thee* according to *thy* deeds.

Indeed Mary Gouldney told *thee* in the meeting, that *thou* shouldst have provided wholsom prisons for *them*, before *thou* hadst committed *them*, seeing *thou* knewest it was in *thy* mind to commit *them*, and not to throw *them* up in *heaps* into Prisons, so full as were *these*; which was good counsel, if *thou* couldst have hearkened thereto, and then the Blood of the innocent might not so have come upon *thee*, but as the swine *thou* wast when *she* spake *these* things, and said to *thee* moreover, that the bread *thou* brakest, would be broken to *thee* again; and as *thou* hadst shewn no mercy, so mercy would not be shewn to *thee*, to which purpose Joane Hiley also spake then unto *thee*; We say like to the swine *thou* wast, *thou* turn'dst, and rent *them*, and on Ioan Hiley laidst violent hands thy self, for which *she* reprov'd *thee* there; and Baal (that

(117)

* He boasted how many of us he could dispatch in a day. He said, if he were as the Major, he would make our guts hang about our backs as our hats about our heads. That *tho'st* that feared the Lord would burn us alive, hanging was too good for us (when one spake to him to fear the Lord) that he hoped to see us burnt at a stake with fire and faggot; that if we were in France and Spain, we should see what they would do to us; that he could byle our limbe, and scum them; who professes himself to be a Roman Catholick, and hath acknowledged that he worshippes Images. This is our executioner, and this bloody villain is made our Judge.

(that bloody * Hangman of thine) did the same on *Mary Gouldney*, whom he had like to have thrown down the staires; whom for so doing, though in *thy view*, thou didst not reprove.

Well, *these* heaps upon heaps *thus* thrown together (as hath been said) yet satisfied thee not; but more thou must have, as *Hell*, and the grave, which are never satisfied, and therefore the next first day of the week, viz. 14th. of 6th. month to work thou goest again, making it another day of muster, for so were those dayes made from time to time, till thy date was out, and so company after companies thou sentest on those daies, to thy Jailes to fill up thy measure, and having brought Alderman *Sandy* with thee (poor man, sorely against his heart, for he loved not these things, though he knew not how to avoid thy impetuous commands, who makes representations of all that please thee not) thou erectedst thy Court in the Meeting room there again, and sent'st to Newgate.

Men.

Thomas Speed, Thomas Gouldney, Tho. Callowhill, John Hert, Hen. Comely, and Rowland Dole. (6)

Women.

Eliz. Pyot, Magdalen Love, Mary Dedicot, Joice Dole, Jane Tucker, Deborah Watkins. (6) 12. in all. And to *Bridewell*.

Men.

Charles Harwood, Abraham Cole, John Batho, Sam. Rogers, Christ. Newman, Charles Horsington, Jeremy Hignel, Morris Williams

little breath, which was *all* they ask't whilest *they* were amongst you, which is the thing *you* would have *your selves*, and to have granted *them* the garden of *T Gouldney* aforesaid, to walk in, being so near the *prison*, and the *prison* of *Newgate* having no outlet, though the *Kings Bench*, the *Fleet*, and other considerable *Jailes* in *England* have, that so *heaps* upon *heaps*, men might not be *smothered* to death, and prisons be made *places* of execution, and *holes* of murder, but *thou* wouldst not consent thereunto, but as if by *all* that *thou* couldst do, *thou* sought'st their ruine; or to bow *their* conscience to *thee*, which was worse; *thou* didst as aforesaid, *Haman* like, but *Mordecai* (the true Jew in the *Spirit*) cannot bow to *thee*, though *thou* seekest therefore to cut of the whole Race of the *Jews*, as aforesaid, which as it did to *Haman*, will prove *thine* own portion (if *thou* dost not repent) in the day of the *Lord*, who will render to *thee* according to *thy* deeds.

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Women.

Eliz. Pyot, Magdalen Love, Mary Deditot, Joice Dole, Jane Tucker, Deborah Watkins. (6) 12. in all. And to Bridewell.

Men.

Charles Harwood, Abraham Cole, John Batho, Sam. Rogers, Christ. Newman, Charles Horsington, Jeremy Hignel, Morris Williams

Williams, W. Collins, W. Blackway, Iohn Northal. (11)
 Women.

Dorcas Lloyd, Alexandra Perkins, Mary Willis, Dorcas Hewlet, Mary Browchil, Alice Moor, Brightweed Ieffries, Mary Leech, Mary Hunt, Eliz. Hogford, Anne Brinkworth, Eliz. Chamberlein, Anne Mogs, (14) 25, in all; this *muster* Roll of this day being *thirty* and *seven*, who were committed by *thee* till the 6th of the 7th month following, though *those* imprisoned by *thee*, the day before were to the 19th.

Now at this *thy* high Court, *thou* wast up with *thy* old trade again, and to *sirrahing* of *T. Speed* thou wentest again; forgetting *thy self* what thou wast, & what *thou* must be, and *Tom* was up again, so that sober people judg'd *thee* little better then a *Man* distracted; and why *all* this? Because *he* coolely spake to thee to convince *him* first that *he* had transgressed the *Law*, before *thou* sentst him to *prison*, as a transgressor of the *Law*. So then a *Rebel* *he* must be, and *thou* calledst him so, but *he* told thee, That *thou* wast a rebel against the God of heaven, and shouldst have *thy* reward. At which words of *soberness* and *truth*, *thou* wast so incens'd, that had not a *Serjeant* (perceiving what thou wouldst likely have done) put *him* down the *staires*, *thou* seemest as if *thou* wouldst have thrown *him* down *thy self*; and with *thy* cousin *Gouldney* *thou* keptst great ado, much after *thy* old wont.

So the *Prisons* became full, but *thy* belly was not. Too much liberty yet *thou* thoughtst *some* of *these* prisoners to have, *thy* millstones ground not close enough together, *Edw. Pyot, Geo. Bishop* (who were now bringing about the year of *their* imprisonment) *Thomas Speed*, and *T. Gouldney* bore up yet; these to the old prison must go, though cramm'd as aforesaid, and no nay there must be for it; and *Sheriff Streamer* must give orders, though *George Bishop* was his brother in *Law*,

Thomas

Thomas Speed his uncle, and *Th. Gouldney* one with whom he dealt, and thy cousin as aforesaid: Away *they* must go to the old execution house, and there that must try what that could do to *them*, and *Roach* must have orders so to do, and *his* orders *he* signifies. The prisoners thought it convenient so far to be unconcern'd in *their* own suffering, whatsoever might happen, to signifie to Sheriff *Streamer* in what condition the prison was; and how there was no place fitting for *them* in- to which he had ordered *them* to be cast, and therefore *Geor. Bishop* wrote a Letter to *him*, and desired *him* to come down *himself*, and to let *his* own eyes satisfie *him*, as to the view of the prison, who the day following towards the evening (this being the second day of the week, and the 15. of the 6. month) coming down, and viewing it *himself*, with the Sword-bearer, saw such an inhabitation of stench and company, that he continued things as they were, and moreover granted liberty to all women with child to make *their* houses *their* prisons, and all that were sick; *Lidiab Levy* being that morning pass'd to her long home upon the foot of vvhat thou hadst formerly done as aforesaid, vvith vvwhich order of *his* thou declarest thy self content; and so ended *this* great contest vvith some addition of Liberty to the prisoners, as aforesaid; through the Blood of their friend.

Thus *Blond* touched *Blond*, yet thou couldst not give over, but on the 21st of 6th month, sentest thy Officers to the Meeting, who warn'd *them* to depart, and took names, and two to Prison, viz. *Bartholomew Crocker*, and *Canannel Britton*, who gave not *their* Names, knowing *themselves* to be on the Third Conviction, if so be thou wouldst so take it, which the next day thou didst, and committedst *them* to Newgate, and on the 28th camest on with a fresh career, and having sent thy Officer before to make fast the door on *them* that were in
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the *Meeting-room*, somewhat early; *thou* camest *thy* self down, with *Ald. Lock*, and the *Sheriffs*, about the second hour in the *afternoon*, and seeing some friends in meeting at the *door* of the *house*, in the *street*, (for coming after the door was fast, *they* could not get in) the form of *thy* Visage was changed, and *thou* grew'st *very* wroth, and hastedst to *them* in *thy* fury, so that *thou* wast observed to out-goe some of *thy* Officers; and coming near the Place, and seeing *Mary Prince* there, *thou* saidst, *Where is Mrs. Prince? What do you do here?* Unto which *she* answering, That *they* were there to wait upon the Lord, *Thou* criedst, have *her* away to *Newgate* (not suffering *her* to go to *Bridewel*, though *she* desired it, *her* Son in Law being there, and *her* daughter likely to be sent thither, being above in the *meeting-room*, and *she* desiring to be with *her* children) and this *thou* didst without asking *her* to pay any thing, or fining *her*, which is contrary to *Law*, as aforesaid; and having sent some more thither also, whose Names are hereafter mentioned, *thou* went'st up in the *meeting-room*, and there didst commit whom *thou* pleasedst, and hadst an especial eye upon; and then orderedst the rest to be suffered to depart; but *Hannah Marshal* (Daughter to *Mary Prince*, as aforesaid) continuing till last, for *she* could not go away at *thy* command, as *she* came not there at *thy* Order, *thou* causedst *her* to be brought before thee (vvho hadst set up *thy* Court in the *Meeting-room*, as aforesaid) and demandedst of *her*, whether *she* would pay 2 s. 6 d. to which *she* answering, that *she* had something to speak to thee first, before *she* should give thee any reply to that; *Thou* didst bid *her* say on, and *she* thereupon speaking to this effect; --- *John Knight*, The day will come wherein thou wilt have cause to wish that a milstone were tied about thy neck, and thou cast into the midst of the sea, for persecuting the people of the Lord---*Thou* saidst,

Here

Here is a *bold* Huswife indeed, have *her* away; and *Alderman Lock* with *his* own hands, was like to have thrown *her* down the stairs; so *thou* orderdest *her* to *Newgate*, without taking *her* answer, whether *she* would pay *her* fine, which *thou* gavest *her* time to do, after *she* had spoken, as aforesaid; but *she* asking *thee*, Whether *thou* wouldst be worse than an *Infidel*, to part *man* and *wife*? her Husband being at *Bridewel*, thou sentst *her* thither. So the *Widow* and the *Fatherlesse* were the first and the last of *this* dayes execution, the *Mother* and the *Daughter*, whom the *Lord* thus honoured to suffer for his *Name*, with the rest of his *servants* at that time, vvhole Names are,

Newgate Men.

John Withers, Charles Jones, Andrew Vivers, William Peach-er, Richard Willis, Thomas Window, Tho. Losiy. (7)

Women.

Mary Prince, Alice Tovy.

Bridewell Men.

John Hardiman, W. Shatford, Tho. Baker, Geo. White, David Simons, W. Maynard, John Mills, Sam. Cottrel, Ralph Cock, Richard Lindey. (10)

Women.

Hannah Marshal, Hest. Rennolds, Jone Dapwel, Susanna Pearson the younger,, Eliz. Turford. (5) 15 in all.

Those at *Bridewel* thou committedst to the 28th of 7th month, but those at *Newgate* had no Warrant of Commitment, nor have to *this* day, yet were there detained till the day after the *Recorders* departure; wherein *they*, and several that were there on the *third* Conviction, with *John Simons* and *Sarah Wilkinson*, (hereafter to be mentioned) were ordered to be set at *Liberty*. And as for those at *Bridewel*, they had gone without *one* also, had they not refused to depart

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from the *Tolzey* the *next* day when *thou* hadst them before *Thee*.

The *Prisons* now being *very* full, and the *Goal* delivery near, *thy* Sergeant *Jones*, and some *other* Officers came, and took the *Names* of whom *they* pleased, and then halled the *Men* out of the *Meeting room*, but the *Women* they let alone. This was on the *4th* of *7th* month, being the *first* day of the *Week*.

But the *Prisons* being somewhat eased again, by the *Liberty* of *those* that were committed till the *6th* of *7th* month, *thou* camest on afresh, and it being the *first* day of the *Week* before the *Goal* delivery, *thou* madest ready for it, to have as many as *thou* couldst on the third Conviction, in order to Banishment; *Thou* having boasted not long before, that as near as *thy* *Tear* was at an end, *thou* hopedst to send one 400 of us out of the *Kingdome*. So on the *11th* of *7th* month *thou* settest to thy work, and sentst from the *Meeting* to *Newgate* and *Bridewel*, these that follow;

Newgate Men.

Miles Dixin, W. Taylor, John Packer, John Brooks, Griffith Lofcomb, Rowland Dole, Roger Oldstone, James Wallis Robert Gerish, John Styant, Lewis Rogers. (11)

Women.

Martha Lane, Sarah Cann, Eliz. Dowel, Mary Harbord, Mary Burgß, Elinor Maud, Margaret Thomas the elder, Susanna Pearson the elder. (8) the number 19. None of these had any Warrant of Commitment; and to *Bridewel* *thou* didst commit of *men* and *women* about the number of seventy.

So the *Goal* delivery came on, at vvhich One Bill of *Indictment* was exhibited to the *Grand Jury* against *Barth. Crocker, Lewis Rogers, Cananuel Britton*, as upon the foot of Banishment, being the third Conviction; and another against *Mar-*

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garet Thomas the elder, *Elinor Maud*, and *Susan Pearson* the elder, for the same, both which the *Grand Jury* found, as they did one against *John Simons*, for words said to reflect upon your Worship; and another against *Sarah Wilkinson*, for speaking to the *Priest* of *James Steeple* house aforesaid. These two later vvere found *Guiltie* by the *Petty Juries* that passed upon them, and vvere fined in 100 marks each by the *Recorder*, and in default of payment, to lye six months each in *Prison*. The other six vvere also found *Guiltie* by the *Petty Juries* that went on each *Indictment*, and they were sentenc'd the three men to *Banishment* in the *Island* of *Barbados*, the three Women, because Wives, into six months imprisonment in *Eridewell* each, unless redeemed by their respective Husbands, according to the *Act*. So the *general Sessions*, or *Goal Delivery* had an end.

Yet thou hadst not thine; but as a man restless to bring to pass the thoughts of thy heart against the *Innocent*, whilst thou hadst any breath, that is to say, any time unexpired of thy Government, thou failedst not to improve it against them; and for that purpose didst send thine Officers to the Meeting the next first day after the *General Sessions*, viz. the 19th of 7th month, vvho took the Names of whom they pleased, at the Meeting; and on the 25th (the last first day of the Week before the end of thy date, which was the 29th) thou visitedst the Meeting again in Person; vvhere did look thee and thy Banishment in the face, thy Cozens, *Thomas* and *Mary Gouldney*, as to vvwhose Conviction this was the third time, *Hannah Jordan*, *Charles Harvord*, *George Gough*, *W. Taylor* of the Castle, and several others whom thou didst send to *Newgate*, whose names are,

Men.

Daniel Waffield, *Tho. Gouldney*, *Charl:s Harvord*, *Geo.*

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Gough,

Gough, John Wear, Rob. Gerish, Jos. Kipping, John Simons, Rich. Jones, John Saunders, W. Taylor, of the Castle, John Hunt, Tho. Lofly, Rich. Wiles, Rog. Oldstone, John Dowell, Theop. Newton, Tho. Window, W. Peachee. (19.)

Women.

Mary Gouldney, Hannah Jordan, Mary North, Sarah Wilkinson. (4.) the whole 23.

And to Bridewell thou didst commit,

Men.

Leming Dickason, Tob. Dole, W. Sawser, Maur. Williams, Christop. Newman, Tho. Lambert, Rowland Dole, Simon Cox, Jam. Neves, Griff. Browne, W. Noble, Tho. Holder, John Herring, John Crump, John Morgan, W. Tovy. (16.)

Women.

Mary Cole, Dorcas Knight, (2.) The whole to Bridewell and Newgate, 41. who vvere expected (those of *them* that vvere on the third Account) to be severed to Banishment. But after the expiration of *thy* year came a Warrant signed by thee as Mayor, though (its like) done afterwards, to continue *them* prisoners, both the *one* and the *other*, for the space of a month from the day of *their* Imprisonment; and Dennis Hollister, though to a day after *thy* time set, a Prisoner by *thy* Warrant; yet *thou* didst cause *him* to be released a day or two before *thy* time was expired: And Edw. Martingdale (with whom *thou* hadst kept a great adoe about a Letter of *his* which was intercepted; giving Account of *thy* proceedings here against us. And another Letter wherein were Characters to *his* Correspondent about *his* own business, because in Longhand his Letter would not otherwise contain it, being sent by the Post; and after *his* Months Imprisonment (being committed when D. Hollister was) tendredst *him* the Oath of Allegiance, and sentest *him* to Newgate for not swearing)

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thou released'st also somewhat before the end of *thy* time, upon the application of *some* to *thee*, on whose Vessel he vvas Imbarqued, that *he* was to go to Sea, and who went to sea on the said vessel, being a stranger here, and coming hither to merchandize, and so departed to *Virginia* in the ship on which *he* had taken Freight before *his* imprisonment, as aforesaid. But as for *Geo. Bishop*, *Edw. Pyot*, and those 7 with *them*, whom *thou* hadst Committed the 14th of the 10th month 1663. before, and fined at Sessions the 15th of the 11th moneth following; and *William Ford*, and those 15 vvith *him* (except *two* that were set at Liberty till the Sessions) who were sent to Prison the 12th of the 4th after, and fined at the Sessions 12th of the 5th Moneth with *Tho. Gouldney* and those at that time committed with *him* to *Newgate* and *Bridewell*, and those for Banishment (to carry whom *no* ship couldst *thou* nor the *Sheriffs* get) and the Women tried upon the same, in all to the number of about *forty* and *nine*, left by *thee* prisoners in *Newgate* and in *Bridewel* (with those committed the 11th of the 7th moneth, to the number of 95. In all *One hundred Forty and Five*, *John Moon* being before set at liberty, near the expiration of *his* three months Imprisonment, as aforesaid.

Thus ended *thy* Year, and *thus* went'st *thou* out as a snuff (as *Hannab Jordan* told *thee* in the Meeting-room at *her* last Commitment) and hast not accomplished. The despised people of the Lord have stood over *thy* head, though armed (as aforesaid) with all *thy* power, and upon *them* hast *thou* not brought to pass the desires of *thy* heart, though *thou* hadst opportunity in *thy* hand. The plant of the Lord in and amongst *us* hath thriven and prospered, Maugre all that *thou* couldst do, in *dispiight* of all *thy* blusters. Not an *Inch* of ground hath it lost, but unto it hath been drawn (through what *thou* hast

hast been doing to *us* and it) the hearts of multitudes. The Just Lord is in the midst of *us*, he will not do iniquity; every morning do he bring his Judgments to light, he faileth not; but the unjust, knoweth no shame, as the Prophet said, Hab. 3. 5.

And this is *thy* state, who though *thou* hast found a disappointment in all *thy* attempts, so that *thy* hands have not effected the thoughts of *thine* heart, for the Virgin Daughter of *Sion* shook her head at *thee*, she laughed *thee* to scorne; as the Prophet *Isaiah* in the Word of the Lord said to *Rabshakeh*, when he had besieged *Jerusalem* and insulted over it, and boasted what he would do unto it, and blasphemed the Lord, *Isa.* 37. Though the hand of the Lord hath often been on *thee*, and made *thy* Chariot Wheelles (like *Pharaohs*) to drive heavily; though he hath made *thee* to pass (as it were) over *Axes*, and *Harrows* of *Iron*, and through the *Erick-kilne*, putting stops in *thy* way, and blocks in *thy* proceedings; though trouble hath possessed *thee* so that *thou* hast not slept, in consideration of what *thou* hast been doing to *us*; for the *Witness* of *God* hath been reacht in *thee*, which hath drawn *thee* sometimes into tendernefs; yet *thou* hast gone over all again, and hast risen up afresh, after all *thy* Pauses, and to it *thou* hast hastened anew, as if there never had been any such thing; and the *Enemie* hath driven *thee* along to do all these things against the Name of *Jesus*, and hath made *thee* as a man mad to accomplish *them*; yet *thou* hast not seen it, but hast suffered the *Enemie* to hurry *thee* over that which would have shewn it to *thee*, which hath checked *thee*, and made *thee* sometimes tender, as aforesaid; so that *thou* hast, as the *Deaf Adder*, refused to hear the voice of the *Charmer*, charm he never so wisely; Instruction and Advice *thou* wouldst not suffer to come at *thee*; *thou* filledst *thy* self with the *enemie* so, & didst let
him

him so in, as a flood, that *thou* wouldst indure to hear nothing but what he pleased; and when *thou* hadst taken *thy* liberty, and said all that *thou* wouldst, for *thou* lovedst to hear *thy* self speak, *thou* wouldst not hear any thing willingly to the contrary. The day of the Lord is upon *thee*, and he is making of *thee* manifest; and there is but a *very* small moment, and *thy* day will be over. If to *all* that hath been said unto *thee*, and hath come over *thee*, *thou* wilt not yet hear, *thy* condition will be sad, *thy* day will have an *end*, and then vvhath wilt *thou* do? He hath moved *this* to be written to *thee*, being the *Relation* of much of what *we* have suffered at *thy* hands, during the time of *thy* Mayoralty, and to draw before thee back again as in a *Glass*, what *thou* hast done, that *thou* maist see it, and seeing return to *him* from whom *thou* hast gon, against whom *thou* hast gon; for which purpose hath *he* caused *this* to be Argued with *thee*, and by *this* way of Demonstration to be placed before *thee*, as in a *lump* together, what *thou* hast done by *piece-meals*, that so seeing *this* spirit, and the *uglie* face of it, and how *uglie* it makes *thee* to look, which would hurry *thee* to destruction, *thou* maist be recovered from the evil of *thy* way, and *thy* soul may be saved in the Day of the Lord. If this will not do, but if *thou* still shalt go on, to finish that which is to be done on *us* for our *Tryal*, and so run over *all*, know this for a certain, *Thou* shalt be cut off, the Lord hath spoken it: And then *all* the blood that *thou* hast been the occasion of *spilling*, and the *sufferings* of the *Innocent* will fall *hard* upon *thee*, and *all* the despight wherewithall *thou* hast used *us*, and *him* who suffers in *us*, and whom in *us* *thou* hast persecuted, who is Lord and King, will fall upon *thee*, and grind *thee* to powder, and then how sad will be *thy* case? Whether wilt thou fly for shelter, when *he* that is *thy* Judge, who fills *Heaven* and *Earth* with *his* presence, and in *Hell* is also, wh^o *thou*.

thou hast persecuted, shall pursue thee, from whose presence none can be hid? The Rocks and the Mountains cannot do it, though thou shouldst call upon them so to do. As John saw in his Revelations would be the Case of Kings, and chief Captains, and great men, and mighty men, and rich men, and every bond-man, and every free-man, Rev. 6. 15, 16. For the thing is in thee, that will rise up a worm that will never die, and a fire that will never go out, go thou whither thou wilt, which is that which thou now resistest, which thou callest a Natural Conscience, which is not Conscience, but that which sits in Conscience, and speaks for God in the Conscience, and there witnesses for God, which whatsoever it hears the Father speak, speaks there, which is the Son of God, the Saviour of the World, the Light of the World, that lighteth every one that comes into the World, which is come into the World not to condemn the World, but to save the World, even all them that believe in him, in that which witnesses, in that which shews thee the secrets and the intents of thy heart, and all that thou hast done, Is not this the Christ? And so We leave Thee, being thy friends, that desire thy welfare, whether thou dost believe it or no. Known to the World and Thee, and persecuted by the Name of Quakers.

Bristol, 13th 15th Month. 16 4.

The three Warricks notes that Swore falsely against *Misses Dixon*, mentioned in page 39, and should have been then introduced, but that their names came too late to the Printers hand: yet even they remain upon the page for future generations, even to their shame and loading, whose names are, *John Swearing*, son of the *Misses*, *Edw. Lown*, who died in a short time after, *Lebanon Paul*, *William Stratford*, *Phillip Briggs*.

Errata.

[illegible]

T H E E N D.

